THE IMPERIAL CULT IN THE LATIN WEST
VOLUME III - PART 4

RELIGIONS IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD

EDITORS

H. S. VERSNEL
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THE IMPERIAL CULT IN THE LATIN WEST

Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire

Volume III: Provincial Cult

Part 4: Bibliography, Indices, Addenda

BY

DUNCAN FISHWICK

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This series Religions in the Graeco-Roman World presents a forum for studies in the social and cultural function of religions in the Greek and the Roman world, dealing with pagan religions both in their own right and in their interaction with and influence on Christianity and Judaism during a lengthy period of fundamental change. Special attention will be given to the religious history of regions and cities which illustrate the practical workings of these processes. Enquiries regarding the submission of works for publication in the series may be directed to Professor H.S. Versnel, Herenweg 88, 2361 EV Warmond, The Netherlands, h.s.versnel@hetnet.nl.

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ABBREVIATED TITLES

AE	*L'Année épigraphique. Revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité romaine*, Paris, 1888– .
AFA	Scheid J. (ed.) with Tassini P., Rüpke J., *Recherches archéologiques à La Magliana. Commentarii fratrum arvalium quae supersunt. Les copies épigraphiques des protocoles annuels de la confrérie arvale (21 av. – 304 ap. J.-C.)*, Rome, 1998.
AIJ	Hoffiller V. and Saria B. (eds.), *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslavien. Heft 1: Noricum und Pannonia Superior*, Amsterdam, 1970.
ANRW	Temporini H. and Haase W. (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Speigel der neueren Forschung*, Berlin, 1970– .
BMCRE	Mattingly H. and Carson R.A.G., *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, London, 1923–62, 1–6.
BRGK (1937)	Nesselhauff H. (ed.), "Neue Inschriften aus dem römischen Germanien und den angrenzenden Gebieten," *BRGK* 27 (1937) 51–134.
CIL	Mommsen T. *et al.* (eds.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum editum consilio et auctoritate Academiae Regiae Borussicae*, Berlin, 1863– .
CIL $2^2/7$	Stylow A.U. *et al.* (eds.), *Conventus Cordubensis*, Berlin, 1995.
CILA	González J. (ed.), *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía*, Seville, 1989–1991, 1–3.
DE	De Ruggiero E. *et al.* (eds.), *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane*, Rome, 1895– .
EAA	*Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica*, Rome, 1994.
EE	*Ephemeris Epigraphica, Corporis inscriptionum Latinarum supplementum, edita iussu Instituti Archaeologici Romani*, Berlin, 1, 1872–9, 1903–13.
EPRO	Vermaseren M.J. (ed.), *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain*, Leiden, 1961–92.

ERAE	García Iglesias L. (ed.), *Epgrafía romana de Augusta Emerita* (Diss. Madrid, Univ. Complutense), Madrid, 1972–73.
ERBC	Canto, A.M. (ed.), *Epigrafía romana de la Beturia Céltica*, Madrid, 1997.
ERI	Canto, A.M. (ed.), *Epigrafía romana de Italica*, Madrid, 1985.
FIRA	Bruns C., Mommsen T., Gradenwitz O. (eds.), *Fontes Iuris Romani Antiqui*[7], Tübingen, 1909.
HAE	*Hispania Antiqua Epigraphica*, Madrid, 1950–.
HCC	Robertson A.S. (ed.), *Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet*, Oxford, 1962.
HEp	Mangas J., Velázquez I. (eds.), *Hispania Epigraphica*, Madrid, 1989–1996, 1–6.
IAM	Euzennat M., Marion J., Gascou J. (éds.), *Inscriptions antiques du Maroc*, Paris, 1966–82, 2.
IDR	Russu I.I.(ed.), *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*, Bucharest, 1980, 3, 2.
IEphesus	Wankel H. (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*. Teil Ia, Bonn, 1979.
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin, 1903– .
ILAndal 2, 2,	González Fernández J. (ed.), *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía: La Vega (Itálica)*, Seville, 1991.
ILA, Pétrucores	Bost J.-P., Fabre G. (éds.), *Inscriptions latines d'Aquitaine (I.L.A.)*, Bordeaux, 2001.
ILA, Santons	Maurin L., Thauré M., Tassaux F. (éds.), *Inscriptions latines d'Aquitaine (I.L.A.)*, Bordeaux, 1994.
ILAfr	Cagnat R., Merlin A., Chatelain L. (éds.), *Inscriptions latines d'Afrique (Tripolitaine, Tunisie, Maroc)*, Paris, 1923.
ILAlg	Gsell S. (éd.), *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie*, Paris, 1922, 1. Pflaum H.-G. *et al.* (éds.), *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie*, Paris, 1957, 2.
ILER	Vives J. (ed.), *Inscripciones latinas de la España romana*, Barcelona, 1971–72, 1–2.
ILGN	Espérandieu É. (éd.), *Inscriptions latines de Gaule (Narbonnaise)*, Paris, 1929, 2.
ILIug	Sasel A. and J. (eds.), *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt*, Ljubljana, 1963.
ILM	Chatelaine L. (éd.), *Inscriptions latines de Maroc I*, Paris, 1942.

ILPGr	Pastor M., Mendoza A. (eds.), *Inscripciones latinas de la provincia de Granada*, Granada, 1987.
ILS	Dessau H. (ed.), *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, 1892–1916.
ILTG	Wuilleumier P. (éd.), *Inscriptions latines des Trois Gaules* (Gallia suppl. 14), Paris, 1963.
ILTun	Merlin A. (éd.), *Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie*, Paris, 1944.
ILuxembourg	Ternes Ch.-M. (éd.), "Les inscriptions antiques du Luxembourg" in *Hémecht. Zeitschrift für Luxemburger Geschichte: Revue d'Histoire du Luxembourg* 17 (1965) 267–478.
INice-Cimiez	Laguerre G. (éd.), *Inscriptions antiques de Nice-Cimiez (Cemenelum, Ager Cemenelensis)* (Fouilles de Cemenelum 2), Paris, 1975.
InscrIt 13, 2,	Degrassi A. (ed.), *Fasti anni Numani et Iuliani*, Rome, 1963, 1–2.
IRCP	D'Encarnação J. (ed.), *Inscrições romanas do Conventus Pacensis*, Coimbra, 1984.
IRScallabis	Custódio J. (ed.), *Inscrições romanas de "Scallabis"* (forthcoming).
IRT	Reynolds J.M., Ward Perkins J.B. (eds.), *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, Rome, 1952.
IScM	Pippidi D.M. *et al.* (eds.), *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris graecae et latinae*, Bucharest, 1980– , 2: 1, 2, 3, 5.
KP	Ziegler K. and Sontheimer W. (eds.), *Der Kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike*, Munich, 1979, 1–5.
LIMC	Ackermann H.C. and Gisler J.-R. (eds.) *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, Zürich-Munich, 1981– .
OGIS	Dittenberger W. (ed.), *Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae*, Leipzig, 1903–5, 1–2.
OLD	Glare P.G.W. (ed.), *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1968–82.
PECS	Stillwell R. (ed.), *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, Princeton, 1976.
PIR^{1}	Klebs E., Dessau H., von Rohden P. (eds.). *Prosopographia Imperii Romani. Saec. I, II, III*, Berlin, 1897–8.
PIR^{2}	Groag E., Stein A., Petersen L., Wachtel K. *et al.* (eds.), *Prosopographia Imperii Romani. Saec. I, II, III*, Berlin, 1933– .

RE	Wissowa G., Kroll E., *et al.* (eds.), *Paulys Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Berlin, 1893– .
RGRW	Drijvers H., van den Broek R., Versnel H.S. (eds.), *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*, Leiden, 1992–.
RIC	Mattingly H., Sydenham E.A., Sutherland C.H.V., Carson R.A.G. (eds.), *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, London, 1923–84.
RIS	Walser G. (ed.), *Römische Inschriften in der Schweiz, für den Schulunterricht ausgewählt, photographiert und erklärt*, Bern, 1979–1980.
RIT	Alföldy G. (ed.), *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco*, Berlin, 1975.
RIU	Barkóczi L., Mócsy A. *et al.* (eds.), *Die Römischen Inschriften Ungarns*, Budapest, 1972–1991.
Roscher	Roscher W.H. (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1884–1937, 1–10.
RPC	Burnett A., Amandry M., Pau Ripollès P. (eds.), *Roman Provincial Coinage*, London and Paris, 1992, 1, Parts 1–2.
RSS	Balla L., Buocz T.P., Kádár Z., Mócsy A., Szentléleky T. (eds.), *Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Savaria*, Amsterdam-Budapest, 1971.
SEG	Hondius J.J.E., Woodhead A.G. *et al.* (eds.), *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden, 1923–71, 1–25.
ThLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, Leipzig, 1900– .

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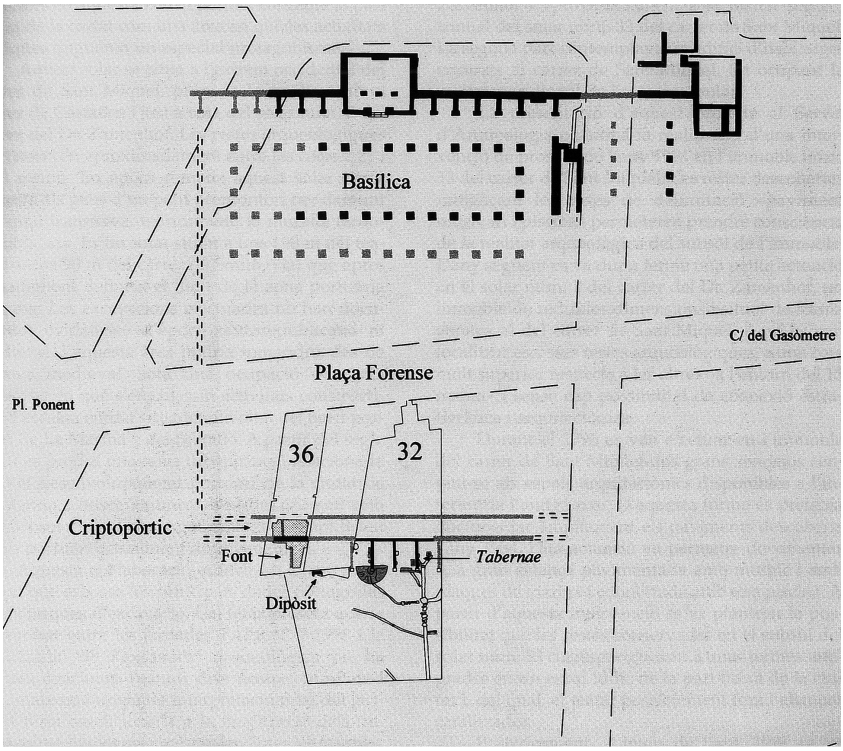
ADDENDA

Vol. III, 1

p. 1 On the various forums of Tarraco, Emerita and Corduba see now the useful summary of Jiménez (2003) 282–7.

pp. 3–4, 229–30 Gradel (2002) 73–7,[1] notes *ad* Dio 51, 20, 6–8 that the historian's remarks (cf. Suet., *Aug.* 52) are confined to the *Staatsdenken* of the capital and its senatorial class and are not concerned with private cults, which were of no interest to him or his readers. While both Dio and Suetonius are right in regard to the state cult in Rome, they are wrong regarding private and municipal cult in Italy, for which there is ample evidence. At p. 77, n. 7, Gradel states that he does not understand my claim that that "at no time did such a possibility exist (i.e. of establishing a state cult of the emperor in Italy outside Rome)." Here, as frequently, Gradel has simply misread. What I said in Fishwick, Mamia (1995) 20, clearly expressed so far as I can see, was that "Italy was not a province and no city in Italy could ever have been the centre of a "provincial" cult in the way that cities of an eastern province, other than the capital, might serve in the prestigious role of temple warden (*neokoros*)". At no stage do I refer to the establishment of a state cult or state cults of the emperor in Italy outside of Rome, examples of which are listed by Gradel (*o.c.* 77, n. 7). Gradel has misunderstood my point, which in practice is exactly the same as he makes himself: "And this, I suspect, is probably the reason behind Dio's words 'and in the rest of Italy': neither in Rome nor anywhere else in Italy had any emperor dared to establish a cult to himself which functioned on behalf of all Italy, that is, which would be the equivalent of a provincial cult" (*o.c.* 76).

[1] Criticism of Gradel (2002) is necessarily restricted to points relative to Vol. III, 1–3. Other issues will be treated elsewhere in an appropriate context.



185. Archaeological remains in the area of the civic forum of Tarraco.

pp. 7–8 On the new Augustan edict found at Bembibre see now the helpful analysis of Alföldy (2000) 177–205, especially 185 with n. 27.

pp. 23–39 On the theatre at Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges see now Millette-Janon (2003).

pp. 41 ff. On the beginnings of the provincial cult of Divus Augustus in the west see now Álvarez–Basarrate (2003) 294–6.

p. 43 On the creation of Tarraco as *caput provinciae* see Panzram (2002) 123.

p. 43, n. 12 For the view that *divus*, as first applied to the deified Julius Caesar, was chosen for political rather than philological reasons, as the more archaic of the two nouns for gods, see Wardle (2002).

p. 45, n. 24 For the structures in the lower forum at Tarraco see now Panzram (2002) 35–9, 41, 123–4. On the colonial cult see Garriguet (2003) 145–6, 160, cf. Vol. III, 1, 46–52 (below).

pp. 46–7 with n. 28 On the 100 lbs gold monument raised by the province of Baetica on the Forum Augustum in 2 B.C/A.D. 14 see now Panzram (2002) 145–6 with n. 95 and refs.; Garriguet (2003) 162.

pp. 46–52 Panzram (2002) 38, cf. 123–4, 315 implausibly takes Tac., *Ann.* 1, 78 to refer to a municipal temple situated on the civic forum rather than a provincial temple on the uppermost terrace of the provincial sanctuary. She accuses the reconstruction in Fishwick, Tarraco (1996) 172–4, cf. *id.*, Temple of Augustus (1999), of overlooking the Flavian division of the city into two distinct areas, a genuine civic region and one reserved for the provincial assembly. For arguments to the contrary see Vol. III, 1, 46ff.

New light has been shed on this whole controversy by recent archaeological exploration, which reveals that the civic forum in the lower city of Tarraco was in fact half the size formerly supposed (Pl. 185, cf. Vol. III, 3, Pl. 146), therefore too small to have acccommodated an octostyle temple, no trace of which occurs (Cf. Vol. III, 3, 18, n. 46 with refs.). As the evidence now stands, it seems clear that the embassy of the Spaniards (not the Tarraconians) in A.D. 15 concerned a provincial—not a municipal—temple. It must therefore be a projected image of this provincial temple, a structure that copies the temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum Augustum at Rome, which is represented on *dupondii* of Tarraco issued early under Tiberius (Vol. III, 1, 5–7). It is true that at Emerita and Corduba a replica of the Forum Augustum was erected on a *forum adiectum*, but this looks an impossibility at Tarraco. For one thing no such *forum adiectum* has yet been found, for another the remnants of an architectural complex on the Roman model appear on the upper level of the provincial enclave and two copies of the Forum Augustum at one city are inconceivable.

Still outstanding is the vexed question of chronological development. If the "Temple of Augustus" within the provincial sanctuary at Tarraco was built at the same time as the Flavian structures on the middle level of the sanctuary, as current theory holds, some reason must be found to explain why, after permission was granted by the senate (with Tiberius present?) in A.D. 15 and after local coins begin to show the projected temple, no action whatsoever was taken at Tarraco for another fifty-

five years—especially when in a similar case in the eastern empire the Senate sent out an overseer to ensure that erection of a temple was proceeding according to plan. For the view that the temple at Tarraco may have been under way from the reign of Tiberius, but construction was slowed or even stalled (for financial reasons?) until hurriedly completed under Vespasian at a city that had backed the wrong horse in the civil wars see Vol. III, 1, 51–2; III, 3, 22–30. See further *AE* (1999) 965 *ad* Fishwick, Temple of Augustus (1999). The commentator's disparagement of the author's attempts to reconcile "à tout prix" lacunary evidence and conclusions "moins assurées qu'il n'y paraît" should be read in the context of the analysis above, following new archaeological exploration of the colonial forum. For further discussion see Garriguet (2003) 155–8, noting the view of Mar (1993) that the temple situated on the upper terrace of the provincial sanctuary was very possibly octostyle—so compatible with the projected temple shown on Tiberian coins of Tarraco.

pp. 52–3, cf. 164–6, 190, 202–4 On the provincial cult of Hither Spain see now Garriguet (2003) 157–8.

pp. 53–9, cf. Vol. III, 2, 141–3 For the early priests of Lusitania see now Álvarez–Basarrate (2003) 295–6, 302–3. On the inscription of the provincial priest Albinus see Panzram (2002) 262, following Edmondson's reading. For a second provincial priest apparently lacking Roman citizenship see Vol. III, 2, 285–6, 296, citing *IScM* 5, 194 (Troesmis); further Álvarez–Basarrate (2003) 295–6.

pp. 59–60, 166–9 On the evolution of the provincial cult of Lusitania see Delgado (1999) 59–60; Panzram (2002) 263, 269, 275–6, 311; Garriguet (2003) 158–9, 173.

pp. 83–4 On the deification of Claudius, Gradel (2002) 304, states "we cannot say for certain whether Tacitus or Suetonius is right in the sequence he suggests. But Tacitus seems the stronger candidate". This is correct but misses the basic point that Tacitus (*Ann.* 12, 69, 4; 13, 2, 6) and Suetonius (*Claud.* 45.) report different stages of the same procedure of consecration: first the vote by the Senate which preceded the funeral, then the rites at the funeral ceremonies completing the process of deification; cf. Gradel, *o.c.* 326–7, noting that in Seneca's burlesque Claudius goes to heaven before his own funeral, thus perhaps before he was actually consecrated—though not by the Roman Senate, as Gradel

supposes. See further Fishwick, Deification (2002) 341–7. For Gradel's distinction between the relative divinity accorded a Roman emperor by decree of the Senate and the absolute divinity denied Claudius at heaven's door see his discussion, *o.c.* 325–30, 333. The inconsistences in this view are brought out by Wardle (2004). Gradel's claim, *o.c.* 339, that "people cared little about their emperors once they had left this world; and even when they did, the main, if indirect, target of their worship was usually the living emperor" is contradicted by scattered evidence for a popular belief that consecrated emperors, particularly good *divi*, could hear and answer prayers; cf. Vol. III, 1, 85. On the later development of the deification procedure see Gradel, *o.c.* 301–5 with Fishwick, *o.c.* 347–9.

p. 88 Gradel (2002) 103–8, contradicts at length the *communis opinio* that the forum of Pompeii was largely given over to the imperial cult. The only evidence for the cult, he argues, is the shrine with its marble altar in the courtyard.

p. 96, n. 8 Gradel (2002) 265, takes Vespasian's dying words to refer to his impending deification. For other interpretations that have been put on his *exitus* see Vol. III, 1, *loc. cit.*

pp. 96–7 with n. 10 On the extension of Latin rights at the beginning of Vespasian's reign and the relevance of Domitian's municipal law see Panzram (2000) 176–9 with bibliography.

pp. 111–2 For the embassy of Baetica in A.D. 25 see now Garriguet (2003) 164.

pp. 112–19, cf. 126–7, 205–6; Vol. III, 3, 98–101 On the origins of the provincial cult of Baetica see Panzram (2001) 172–3, following Deininger's view that the *ignotus* at Castulo (*CIL* 2, 3271) was the first from his *patria* to reach the provincial priesthood. See now Garriguet (2003) 149–50, 154–5, 160–75, 178, taking the origins to be pre-Flavian. The vast Tiberian temple on the *forum adiectum* of Corduba he interprets as a provincial initiative yet without implication of a contemporary provincial cult—an unprecedented and unparalleled development, if correct. Why could not the temple have been built by *pecunia publica* of the colony itself (Vol. III, 3, 83, n. 34)? It could certainly boast extremely wealthy citizens by the Severan period, notably L. Iunius

Paulinus, who in addition to a gladiatorial show with two *lusiones* and circus games spent no less than HS 400,000 on statues in celebration of his flaminate and other honours at Corduba (Vol. III, 2, 233; III, 3, 337).

p. 116 For a further *patronus* of Hither Spain see *CIL* 2^2/7, 280.

pp. 120–4; cf. Vol. III, 2, 226–30 The inscription of C. Sempronius Speratus at Mellaria (*CIL* 2^2/7, 799) has now been published as *HEp* 9 (1999) [2003] 294; I am greatly indebted to A.M. Canto for a photocopy. The commentary adopts the suggestion in Fishwick, Mellaria (1999) 285, n. 13, citing Fishwick, Regulations (1999) 255, n. 42 (cf. Vol. III, 1, 123, n. 84) that the third consulship of Trajan in A.D. 100 (line 4) dates the decree of the local *ordo* granting funerary honours to Sempronius (lines 10–11), but takes the suffect consulships of July-August, A.D. 98 (line 5) to refer to the decree of the province (lines 8–9) rather than the attainment of the provincial priesthood by Sempronius (lines 6–7). While this solution precludes a double, self-contradictory dating of the provincial decree by two *suffecti* and one *ordinarius* (Trajan), it should first be noted that the incoming provincial *flamen* will have been termed *designatus* between his election in July-August and the end of the year—for four or five months, therefore—not between August and October, as the commentary states; the latter possibility was first considered then rejected in Fishwick, Mellaria (1999) 287 (cf. Vol. III, 2, 229–30). It is further difficult to imagine that during the suffect consulships of July-August, A.D. 98, the *concilium* of Baetica would have decreed that a statue should be raised to Speratus on completion of his term (dated by the commentary to A.D. 98). Such a decision should logically have been made following completion of the priest's year in office, not in the course of it, a point confirmed by the Lex Narbonensis (*CIL* 12, 6038), line 9–13, where the tenses plainly refer to a past priest (Vol. III, 2, 7–8). Apparently the matter of an honorific statue had to be raised by the new *flamen*, so presumably early in his term. For arguments that the dating by suffect consuls relates to the *election* of Sempronius (lines 6–7), who then served during the calendar year A.D. 99 (not 98) see Fishwick, Mellaria (1999) 285–7; Vol. III, 2, 226–30.

p. 120 with n. 82 In an addendum to *HEp* 9 (1999) [2003] 294 (above) the commentator announces that, in response to the reported re-discovery of *CIL* 2, 2344 (= *CIL* 2^2/7, 799), the Equipo Técnico of *Hispania Epigraphica*, under the direction of D. Jose Luis Gamallo, has

recently re-examined and photographed the inscription at its present location in the interior wall of the west door of the church of Sta. Maria del Castillo at Fuenteovejuna (Pl. 186a–b). Apart from the details of the stone itself and the distribution of the lines, the reappraisal is important for the fact that the text, though difficult to read, shows distinct discrepancies from the manuscript tradition of *CIL* 2, 2344. In particular the third and fourth lines from below clearly read *statu*[-]*s pedest(res)* | *II* … . As this differs radically from the manuscript reading *statuas equestres duas* of *CIL* 2, 2344, it may be doubted that this is the re-discovered original stone. More careful study will be required but, unless the manuscript tradition is incorrect in this particular, what the stone records could be a different inscription referring to C. Sempronius Speratus or to another member of the *gens Sempronia* of Mellaria (information kindly supplied by A.M. Canto).

pp. 126–7, 205–6, cf. Vol. III, 2, 242–6; III, 3, 98–101 Panzram (2003) 124 takes the provincial cult of Baetica to have included Dea Roma, no trace of whom occurs in the titles of provincial priests. On the provincial cult of Baetica see now Garriguet (2003) 154–5, 160–75, 178.

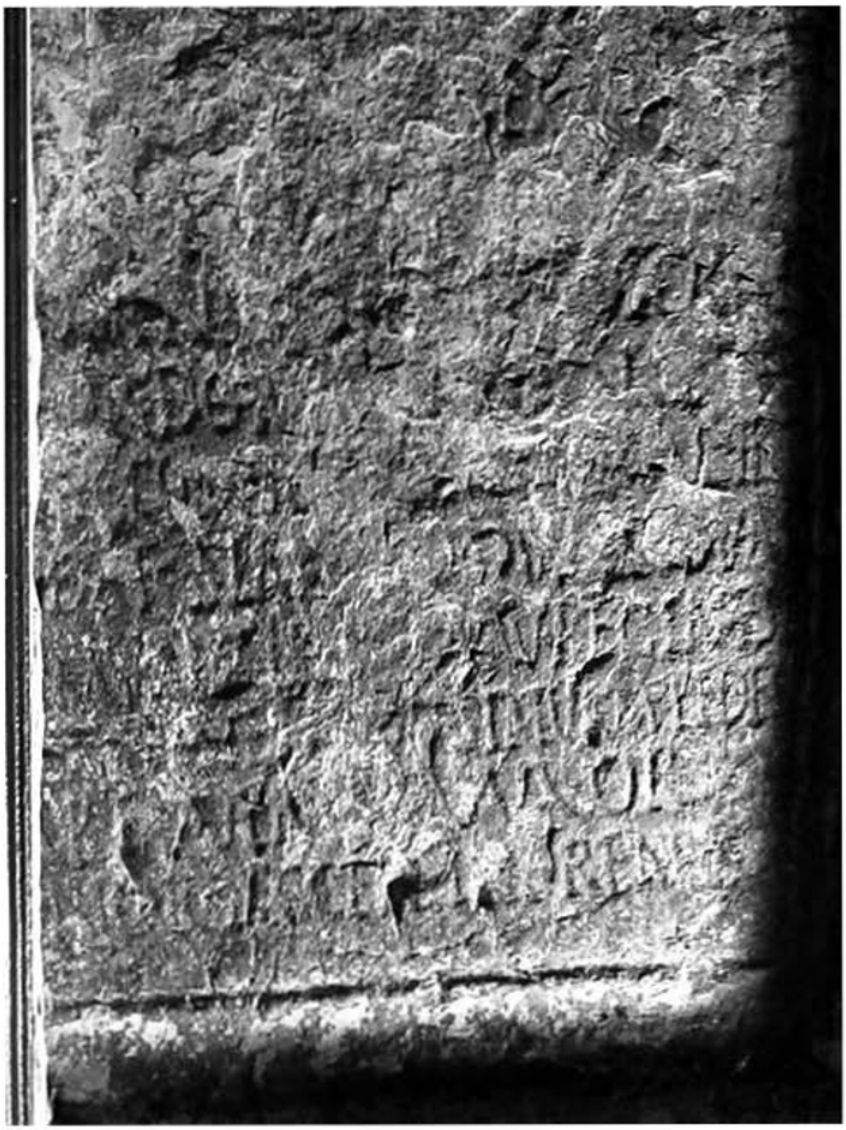
pp. 141–4 For the Bosa inscription see now *AE* (1999) 808.

pp. 151–4 On the administrative reorganization of the sanctuary of Tres Galliae under the Flavians see now *AE* (1999) 1067.

pp. 159–63 Panzram (2002) 52, n. 166, rejects the interpretation of *RIT* 316 (= Alfoldy, 1973, no. 73) on the grounds that, if the provincial priest did not come from Tarraco, his *Heimatort* would have been given, as usually the case with outsiders. That this argument is invalid is shown by the numerous statues of provincial priests who are of unspecified origin, but whose *patria* is indicated by other elements of the text to have been clearly elsewhere (e.g. Alföldy, *o.c.* nos. 3, 20) or very probably / probably elsewhere (e.g. Alföldy, nos. 10, 12, 17, 26, 31, 39, 51, 54). Conversely, in some cases the origin is not given yet appears from the text to have been probably Tarraco (Alföldy, nos. 6, 55). In one text the origin could be Tarraco or elsewhere (Alföldy, no. 38), in another the origin is unknown (Alföldy, no. 74).

The anonymous commentator *ad AE* (1999) 966 raises several objections to Fishwick, Decree (1999), none of them sustainable. In the first

186a–b. Inscription of uncertain attribution, recently discovered at the church of Sta. Maria del Castillo, Fuenteovejuno.



place he states that the author places importance "sans motif solide" on the *vacat* between the first eight lines of the text and the last two, adding that the "mise en page" of the inscription does not justify the proposed interpretation. All that the discussion stresses, in fact, is that the first eight lines record the dedication of an honorific statue by the provincial council of Hither Spain, the last two a rider added by the *ordo* of Tarraco. The circumstance that two texts have been inscribed here by different authorities, that the municipal decree is in practice an appendix to a dedication by the province, gives ample justification for the *vacat* between the two parts of the inscription. It should be noted in this connection that the text with its *vacat* is known only from the manuscript copy reproduced in the Corpus, for which see Hübner *ad CIL* 2, 4217, cf. p. 488, and that a hand-written copy is unlikely to have indicated a space if none existed. (The *vacat* is omitted in *RIT* 316, though the last two lines were earlier described by Alföldy (1973) no. 73, as a *Zusatz*.) (ii) The commentator states that the author questions the local orgin of the priest "ordinairement admise". In point of fact Etienne (1958) 133, states that Fuscus(?) originated "sans doute à Tarragone", while Alföldy (1974) *ibid*., suggests he was "Anscheinend aus Tarraco"; in *RIT* 316 there is no mention of the origin of Fuscus. These few statements of opinion hardly amount to a standard view of the priest's origin, one ordinarily agreed. Where precisely Fuscus(?) served the duumvirate and local flaminate of Divus Claudius listed in his *cursus* is entirely uncertain as the second line of the text is defective. (iii) The commentator suggests that the decision of the Tarraco *ordo* recorded in an appendix—a circumstance unparalleled on any other inscribed statue base of an honorific statue raised to a provincial priest at the sanctuary of Hispania citerior—is more comprehensible if Fuscus was a citizen of Tarraco. The *honores* decreed by the *ordo* might in that case be either a statue or the marks of a *dignitas* that reflected also on the *curia*. The first possibility looks excluded by the plural form *honores*—see, for example, the new inscription of C. Marius Nigrinus (below, pp. 226, 227), where a statue found on the civic forum and decreed by the Tarraco council of decurions to a provincial priest, orginally from Tarraco to judge from his tribe, is recorded by the phrase *honore accepto* (*HEp* 6, 1996, 898): in the singular, that is. As for the second, election of a past provincial priest to the Tarraco *curia*, with all the rights and privileges that this entailed and the honour it brought his fellow councillors (Vol. III, 2, 9–10 *ad CIL* 12, 6038, lines 13–16), would seem to fit the commentator's proposal exactly.

pp. 166–9, cf. Vol. III, 3, 275–6 On *CIL* 2, 5264 see now *AE* (1999) 870. The anonymous commentator rejects the inference that the provincial governor would have performed the dedication of a gold bust to Titus on the grounds that references to governors tell statistically against the possibility he would have intervened in the organization of a provincial cult from an early period. This objection is patently contradicted by the Flavian, very possibly Vespasianic, Lex Narbonensis, lines 27–8 of which directly attest the intervention of the provincial governor, who apparently had a say in the expenditure of surplus provincial funds. The precise nature of his intervention depends on a restoration:

> … *arbitratu / permissu(?) eius qui eo anno pro*]|*vinciae praeerit* …
> (*CIL* 12, 6038)

It might be added that it is difficult to see how the dedication could have been performed, if not by the provincial governor assisted by the provincial *flamen*. The fact that these are not specifically stated to have dedicated the bust to Titus hardly excludes the probability that the text records a proceeding that was obvious and is elsewhere expressly documented.

pp. 187–8 On the offices of *praefectus murorum* and *curator templi* served by the provincial priest C. Capurnius Flaccus see Panzram (2002) 63.

p. 205 On the creation of Hispania superior see now Panzran (2002) 90 with n. 355.

p. 216 Gradel (2002) 340–1, correctly notes that the text of the Feriale Duranum wholely reflects the state cult in Rome, so was doubtless disseminated and imposed from the capital. In other words this is a prime example of a proactive measure on the part of the central government. There is no possibility that the document, sent out to units of the Roman army empire-wide, was a reaction to pressure from below.

pp. 220–9 Panzram, *o.c.* 174, n. 233, erroneously attributes a Flavian institution of the provincial cult in Hispania citerior, Lusitania and Tres Galliae to Fishwick, Regulations (1999).

pp. 221 ff. Gradel (2002) 86, n. 33, arguing from the Pompeian synonymity of *flamen* and *sacerdos*, strongly suspects that the same is true of the terms at the provincial level and that the use of these is far less

stringent than supposed by modern scholars. No evidence is offered in support of these airy suspicions, which are effectively ruled out by the way the terms are used in the provincial cults of the Latin west. For the relationship of *sacerdos* and *flamen* to the content of provincial worship see the overview in Vol. III, 1, 220–9; III, 2, 294–5 and Vol. III, 1–3 *passim*, especially the lists of provincial priests. Gradel's statement that *flamines* were a sub-category of *sacerdotes* is clean contrary to the historical development of the terms; see Vols. I, 165; III, 221–2.

Vol. III, 2

pp. 1–15 On the charter of Gallia Narbonensis (*CIL* 12, 6038) see now the discussion in Dellong (2002) 126, 389–90. The importance of the authors' contribution in placing the provincial centre at Narbonne in its urban context has already been emphasized (Vol. III, 3, 124–33). Their interpretation of the content of the provincial cult and the provisions of the Lex Narbonensis, in contrast, is open to question on various scores.

In the first place the enclave at Narbonne was certainly not a sanctuary of Roma and Augustus (*o.c.* 126). This form of cult is found in Tres Galliae, where the original federal worship was served by a *sacerdos* at an altar (Vol. III, 1, 19; 2, 59). In Narbonensis the combination of the term *flamen* with the existence of a provincial temple as attested by the Narbonese law (line 13, cf. 11, ?28) points unmistakably to a cult that included the deified dead. Roma finds no mention in any existing version of the priestly title, so must be considered excluded as in the worship of Lusitania and Baetica but in contrast to that of Hispania citerior or of Tres Galliae in its the Antonine version (when the title *sacerdos* was retained; cf. Vol. III, 1, 185–6). To define the Narbonese law as a *lex concilii provinciae Narbonensis* is hardly apposite (*o.c.* 126); given that the regulations pertain primarily to the provincial *flamen*, it is rather a *lex de flamonio provinciae Narbonesis*. As for the wife of the provincial priest, the authors state that she was the *flaminica*, charged with the cult of Livia. In point of fact the law mentions only the *uxor flaminis*, for whom no cultic duties are prescribed, nor is there any mention of Livia, whose early cult in Lusitania, for example, was tended by a *flamen* (Vol. III, 1, 54–9). In practice there seems to have been no regulation or requirement that the wife of a *flamen* should serve as *flaminica*, even though this was often enough the case. All we know of the duties of the *flaminica* is that she oversaw the cult of deified females (Vol. III, 2,

306–7). On the presently attested eight *flamines* and one *flaminica* of Narbonese Gaul see Vol. III, 2, 183–5. For the point that it was basically impossible for a past provincial priest to enter the senatorial order see *ibid.* 306.

At p. 389 the authors provide a helpful facsimile of the Narbonese law. Their interpretation of its regulations is open to comment or objection on the following points:

The restitution at line 11 attributes the provincial temple to Divus Augustus, a questionable assumption as this would entirely exclude the curent Flavian regime (for the irrelevance in this regard of *CIL* 12, 392 see Vol. III, 2, 163–72). At line 17 the phrase *Si flamen in civitate esse des*[*ierit* surely refers to loss of Roman ctizenship (Vol. III, 1, 10) rather than absence from Narbo as proposed by Gayraud, whom the authors follow (*o.c.* 390). At line 18 the replacement of the provincial *flamen* by a municipal *flamen* is most unlikely as the authors evidently realize by referring to "un flamine municipal(?) quelconque présent à Narbonne…" . At line 21 … *flamini Augus*[is completed *Augus*[*ti*, surely an impossibility as the living emperor would have been served by a *sacerdos* and this restitution would exclude Divus Augustus. In all probability the reference includes the living emperor with the deified dead, in which case either *Augus*[*talis* or *Augus*[*torum* would fit the bill (Vol. III, 2, 12). The authors' translation "flamine augustal" (*o.c.* 390) would in that case be perfectly appropriate. At line 28 the completions *intra idem t*[*empus* and *intra idem t*[*emplum* are equally possible (Vol. III, 2, 14). The authors read *intra idem t*[*empus* (389) but translate "dans ce temple" (*o.c.* 390).

pp. 3–15 Gradel's reference, *o.c.* 87, to the Lex Narbonensis is out of date and erroneous on various issues. The statement that this provincial charter is now securely dated to the reign of Vespasian is based on Vol. I, 2, 240–1 and ignores the controversy of the past fifteen years with the rejoinder of Fishwick, Knight (1998); cf. Vol III, 1, 100–11; Vol. III, 2, 1, 8–9, 163. That the priest was designated *flamen Augustalis* is an oversimplification: see above. It is a further oversimplification, probably incorrect, to say that one of the duties of the *flamen* was to have portraits of the emperor, paid for from the public funds, erected in the provincial sanctuary. Whether these were surplus funds is not entirely certain but their usage was controlled by the provincial governor and the statues and busts are more probably to be placed in the temple, in which case they are likely to have been portable images designed to be carried in procession on ceremonial occasions. The statues of past

provincial priests in contrast were to be placed within the boundaries of the temple. For discussion see Vol. III, 2, 7–8, 14.

pp. 57–8, cf. 56 On the inscription of M. Bucc[—] see now Bérard (1999) 103–4, agreeing that he must have belonged to Lugdunum but emphasizing that the linkage between the Segusiavi and the citizens of Lyon is far from clear. As it is uncertain whether a Segusiavus could have held municipal posts at Lugdunum, the author suggests that M. Bucc[—] may have transferred from one community to the other. A simpler solution, he proposes, would be that sooner or later the citizens of Lugdunum were able to participate in the federal cult at the Confluence as occasionally suggested by earlier commentators, but for the moment this hypothesis remains to be proved.

p. 62 To the roster of federal priests of the Petrucorii who served at the Altar of the Three Gauls must now be added a fragmentary trace at Vesunna (*CIL* 13, 11047b, c, a), which on the convincing restoration of the editors of *ILA, Pétrucores* refers to a *sacerdos arensis*:

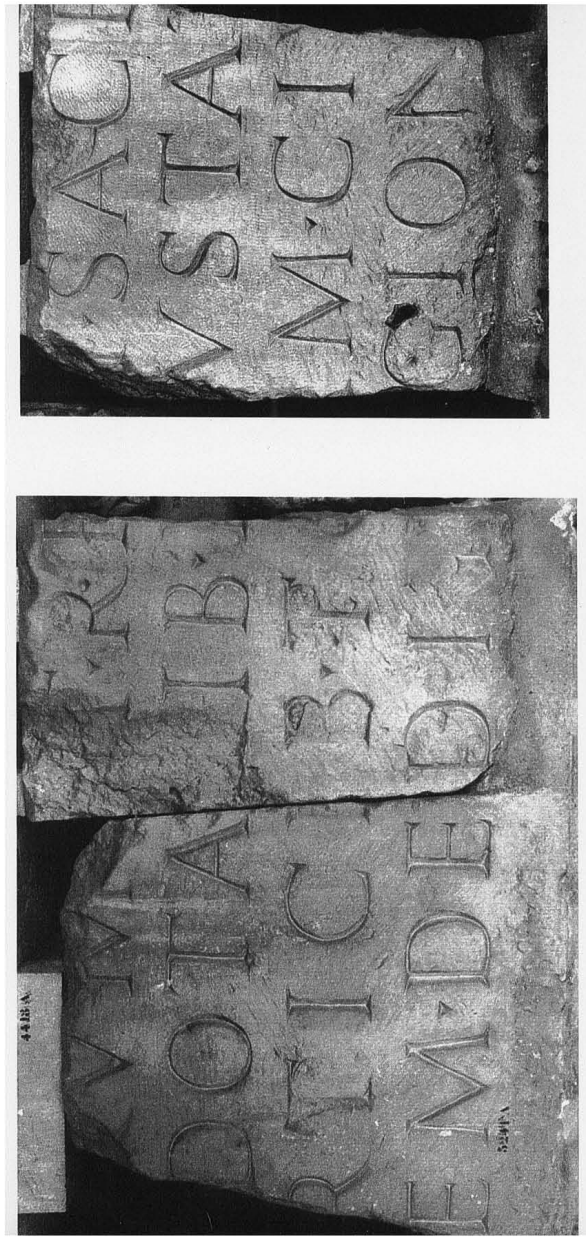
> [… *Numinibus Augusto*]*ṛum* [*e*]*t Re*[*duci Fortunae …*]*ị sacẹ*[*rdotis arensis fil(ius) Quir(ina) …*] | [… *civilib(us) et sacer*]*dota*[*l*]*ib(us) ḥ*[*onoribus functus … vet*]*ustaṭ*[*e conlabs… … sua pecunia …*] | [… *cum omnibus po*]*rticib(us) tọ*[*tisque ornamentis ac munimentis? ad glori*]*am civ*[*itatis suae restituit? …*] | [… *ob cuius dedication*]*em dedit* [*decurionibus et plebi urbanae re*]*gion*[*is …*]
>
> *ILA, Pétrucores* 18; Pl. 187

This should now appear in the list of priests of Tres Galliae as:

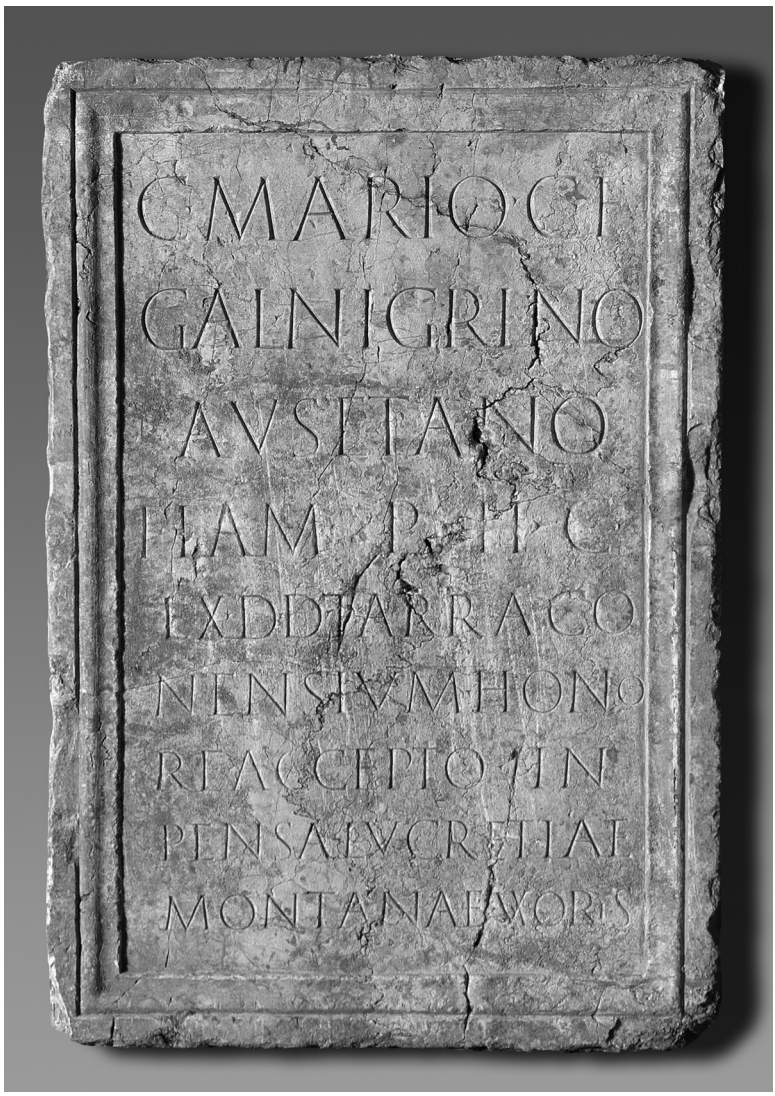
> 9A. Ignotus
> Origin: Petrucorii (Aquitania)
> Find-Spot: Périgueux
> Title: *sacẹ*[*rdos arensis?*
> Date: Vespasian-Hadrian
> References: *CIL* 13, 11047b, c, a; *ILA, Pétrucores* 18; Vol. III, 3, 268, n. 125.

pp. 74–5 On the Lex Narbonensis see Panzram (2002) 54, 263, 280, 287, 311, 316, correctly taking similar regulations to have applied in the three Spanish provinces as elsewhere in the western empire. See further *ead.* (2003) 124.

p. 75, n. 12 Panzram (2002) 77 with n. 301, likewise takes the reference *in foro* (*RIT* 353–4) to apply to the middle terrace of the provincial sanctuary.



187. Anonymous dedication at Vesunna.



188. Inscription of C. Marius Nigrinus found at Tarraco.

pp. 73–137 For the provincial priests and priestesses of Hither Spain see Panzram (2002) 43–4 with n. 129 on Voconius Romanus (no. 8), 58–9, 65 on Raecius Gallus (no. 1), 86–7 on Serenianus Adoptivus (no. 76). See in general *ead. o.c.* 50–5, 65, 86–7, 106, 316. For a new trace of C. Marius Nigrinus (no. 24) see now Massó Carballido–Puche i Fontanilles (1995) 58–9, giving the text:

C(aio) Mario C(ai) f(ilio) Gal(eria tribu) Nigrino Ausetano, flam(ini) p(rovinciae) H(ispaniae) c(iterioris), ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) Tarraconensium, honore accepto inpensa Lucretiae Montanae uxoris. (*HEp* 6, 1996, 898; Pl. 188)

The entry in the table of priests p. 110, should now read:

24. C. Marius C. *f.* Gal. Nigrinus
Origin: Tarraco
Find-Spot Tarraco
Title: (A) *flam. Romae Divor. et August, provinc. Hispaniae citerior.*; (B) *flam. p.H.c.*
Date: A.D. 70/180
References: (A) *CIL* 2, 4228; *RIT* 292; Alföldy (1973) no. 73; (B) *HEp* 6, 1996, 898.

pp. 139, 152 On [L.?] Cornelius Bocchus, the provincial *flamen* of Lusitania attested at Salacia and Caetobriga, see Panzram (2002) 277–8.

pp. 139–54 On the title, origin, background and careers of provincial priests of Lusitania see Delgado (1999) with list of *flamines* at 445–53. Delgado cites at 452–3 a fragmentary trace of a new priest, unpublished before:

[… | …*F?*]*Ụsco / T*?]*usco* | […*fl*]*ạmini* | [*pr*]*ọvinciâe*

This should now be added to the list of priests of Lusitania at Vol. III, 2, 153 as:

12. [… F?]ụscus / [… T?]ụscus (Wickert)
Origin: unknown
Find-Spot: Idanha-a-Velha (Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco)
Title: *fl*]*ạmen* [*pr*]*ọvinciae* [*Lusitaniae*?]
Date: unknown
References: Delgado (1999) 452–3.

For priestesses of Lusitania see Delgado (1999) 442–5 with list of *flaminicae* at 453–8; further Panzram (2002) 261–2, 275–9, 281, 286–7, 311, 317.

pp. 145–7, 151 On the inscription of Albinus Albui *f.*, provincial *flamen* of Lusitania, see now *AE* (1999) 870. The anonymous commentator argues that the monument could be a private dedication and that this explains the priest's laconic nomenclature with its lack of any indication of Roman citizenship. *Contra* Vol. III, 2, 146. For the parallel example of a provincial priest of Lower Moesia who lacked Roman citizenship see *ibid.* 285–6, 288, 296.

pp. 163–72 The rediscovery of the right-hand section of *CIL* 12, 392(!) is registered in *AE* (1999) 1016, where the arguments of Brun–Gascou (1999) are summarized.

pp. 205–9 On the *flamines* and *flaminicae* of Mauretania Caesariensis and Mauretania Tingitana see futher Delgado (1998) 53–4, to which discussion add Rubria Festa, priestess of Caesariensis (Vol. III, 2, 205–6).

pp. 215–47 For analysis of the provincial priests and priestesses of Baetica see Delgado (1998) 41–53; Panzram (2002) 174–6, 180, 223, 317; Garriguet (2003) 170, 174–5, 179.

pp. 226–8, 239–40, cf. Vol. III, 1, 120 Panzram, *o.c.* 173–4, n. 231, observes *ad* Fishwick, Mellaria (1999): "Er argumentiert dahingehend, dass die Verwendung des Verbes *consequi* in [*CIL* 2^2/7, 799] Z. 7 auf Speratus als designierten Flamen schliessen lasse. Diesen Status habe er im Jahre 98 n. Chr. innegehabt, bevor er im folgenden Jahr … sein Amt antrat. … Entscheidend is jedoch dass Fishwick ignoriert, dass in sämtlichen Parallelbefunden der Akt der Designation stets unter Verwendung des Partizips *designatus* bennant and überhaupt nur bei vor ihrem Amtsantritt verstorbenen Flamines erwähnt wird … . Cf. Panzram (2003) 123–4: "De este modo, Duncan Fishwick ignora sin embargo que en todas los evidencias paralelas el acto de designación siempre se menciona con el uso del participio *designatus*, … ".

Several errors demand correction here: (i) In the first place the argument in Fishwick, Mellaria (1999) concludes that *consequutus est* probably indicates the occasion when C. Sempronius Speratus was elected (*o.c.* 286)—the phrase *provinciae Baeticae consensu* surely refers to election, not entry into office. Contrary to Panzram's assertion, however, the argument makes no reference to Speratus as *flamen designatus* except in relation to his possible early participation in the prosecution of Caecilius Classicus before beginning his term as provincial *flamen* (*o.c.* 292). (ii) Panzram appears to have missed the entire argument (*o.c.* 286) that the term *designatus* found in several texts, all cited and documented, implies an interval between election and entry on office. For comprehensive discussion of the use and implication of *designatus*, which is necessarily found only with priests who have died before taking office, see further Vol. III, 2, 218, 224, 228–9, 295. (iii) A *flamen* was termed *designatus* during the period while he waited to assume office. Similarly an

elected consul was termed *consul designatus*, Tertullian refers to prospective martyrs as *benedicti martyres designati* (*Ad martyras* 1, 1), even today the elected president of an association or a state is termed designate president / president designate / president elect before he assumes office. Panzram evidently believes (*passim*) that after election there occurred a subsequent act of designation, yet one of the meanings of *designare* itself is "to elect" or "to appoint." (*OLD* 525–6 *s.v.*, 6 with refs.). It follows that a priest is said to be *designatus* as a result of his election or appointment. There is no separate, later stage of "designation" following election. (iv) The focus of *CIL* $2^2/7$, 799 is the election of Speratus, not his consequent status as *flamen* elect, so Panzram's objection that Speratus is not termed *designatus* has no bearing on the view that he was elected in A.D. 98 and served as provincial priest in A.D. 99.

One final point. Panzram states that Mommsen's emendation of line 8 of this inscription (= *CIL* 2, 2344), rehabilitated by Fishwick (*o.c.* 292), is problematical as the text is known only from a copy. Caution is certainly in order but a copy is regrettably all we have to go on for the moment. See now *AE* (1999) 901, where the argument of Fishwick, Mellaria (1999) is summarized. Here too the anonymous commentator stresses that the role of C. Sempronius Speratus as a legate in the process against Caecilius Classicus, proconsul of Baetica in A.D. 97–8, is hypothetical.

The precise involvement of Sempronius Speratus in these proceedings has now been reconsidered by A.M. Canto *ad HEp* 9 (1999) [2003] 294 (above, p. 216). The author notes that, if the trial was not in fact held until the latter part of A.D. 100 or early A.D. 101 as some have argued, the role of Sempronius will have been in preparing the case against him, more precisely in serving on the small commission that presented the first accusations in Rome, rather than in participating at the hearing itself. In that case it will have been for this contribution, made during his term of office, that he was honoured at Mellaria. (For arguments assigning his flaminate to A.D. 99 rather than 98 see above, p. 216 *ad* Vol. III, 1, 120–4; cf. Vol. III, 2, 226–30). On this reconstruction there would then be no conflict with the circumstance that charges of collusion were brought against *all* members of the Baetica commission at the time of the process. (This point is hardly decisive: honours for Sempronius could have been decreed at Mellaria as a show of local support in defiance of these allegations). Interestingly, the author further suggests that the word *feciali* in the tralatician text *peracto honore*

flaminico e[*t*] *feciali* can be retained and that Mommsen's correction is unneccessary. On this view Sempronius Speratus will have served on the preliminary commission as *flamen* and *fetialis*, a term originally associated with the *ius fetiale* and the declaration of war by the Roman college of *fetiales* but later applied to cases of *res repetundae*, such as that against Classicus. A text one might adduce in support of Canto's suggestion occurs in Varro *apud* Nonius p. 529M: *fetialis legatos res repetitum mittebant quattuor*.

pp. 229–31 On the function of the provincial priest of Baetica as an eponymous official see Panzram (2002) 192, taking the priestly year to have run from July 1st – June 30th, not January 1st – December 31st.

pp. 258, n. 13, 267 with n. 2 Gradel (2002) 103–6, sees more of a difference than usually supposed between the adjective *Augustus/a* and the genitive *Augusti*, when employed with the name of a god; see Vol. II, 1 446ff., noting that the genitive tied the deity more directly to the emperor and that it may be for this reason that the adjectival form is the preferred usage with major gods. On Gradel's view the adjective, unlike the unequivocal use of the emperor's name in the genitive, expressed a vague and implicit connection which could conjure up different perceptions of a deity and its relationship to the emperor.

Against this it is worth noting that the *dupondii* issued under Tiberius at Tarraco show on their obverses either a seated figure of Divus Augustus with DEO AVGVSTO (a formula probably attributable to early uncertainty on the proper appellation of the deified emperor) or the radiate head of Augustus with DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER; on the reverses appears an octostyle temple with the legend AETERNITATIS AVGVSTAE and C.V.T.T. (Vol. III, 1, 43; 3, 241–2). There can therefore be no doubt that this projected octostyle temple, evidently modelled on the temple of Mars Ultor, is the temple referred to in the literary sources as the "Temple of Augustus" (Vol. III, 3, 5). As the Eternity in question is certainly that of Augustus, one might well have expected Aeternitatis Augusti. The circumstance that the adjectival form is preferred surely confirms that there was no practical difference in meaning betwen this and the genitive. Should any difference have occured, the temple with its legend on the reverses would be inconsistent with the depiction of Divus Augustus on the obverses. It is difficult therefore to follow Gradel in reading a deliberate subtlety into the use of

the adjectival form, especially when the abbreviation *Aug.*, which could be expanded in either the genitive or the adjectival form, is common enough. Would Gradel distinguish between the Forum Augusti and the Forum Augustum?

Vol. III, 3

pp. 5–38 See now the useful overview of X. Aquilué Abadías in Dupré i Raventós, *Tarragona* (2004) 41–53.

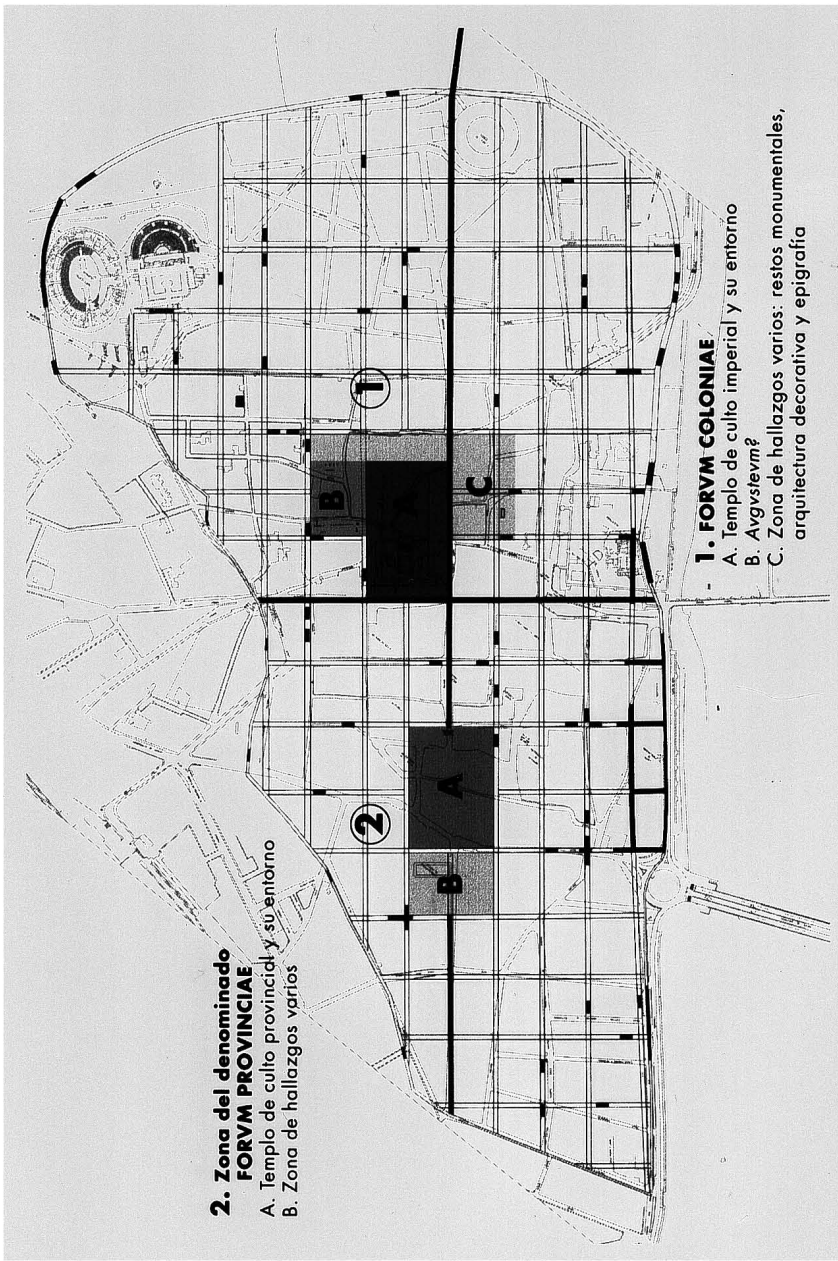
pp. 7–12 For an overview of archaeological exploration of Tarraco from the mid twentieth century see now Dupré i Raventós (2001) 200–19.

p. 24 Gradel (2002) 180, 336 with n. 119, states that Tiberius' delay in dedicating the temple to Divus Augustus in Rome has been taken by some scholars, myself in particular, to indicate that Tiberius did not much care about the honours to his predecessor. This is clean contrary to my argument, which Gradel has once again misread or misconstrued. The view argued in Fishwick, Temple of Divus Augustus (1992) 245, is that the cult statue of Divus Augustus will probably have shown him as Jupiter within a temple modelled on the shrine of Jupiter Capitolinus and that this imagery, which can hardly have been to Tiberius' liking, may go far to explaining his delay in dedicating a temple which *pietas* compelled him to complete. Far from not caring about the honours due to his predecessor, then, Tiberius will on this view have been hypersensitive to an assimilation of the deceased emperor to Jupiter. Like Gradel, *o.c.* 336, I take Tiberius to have been very much concerned about the honours to his predecessor.

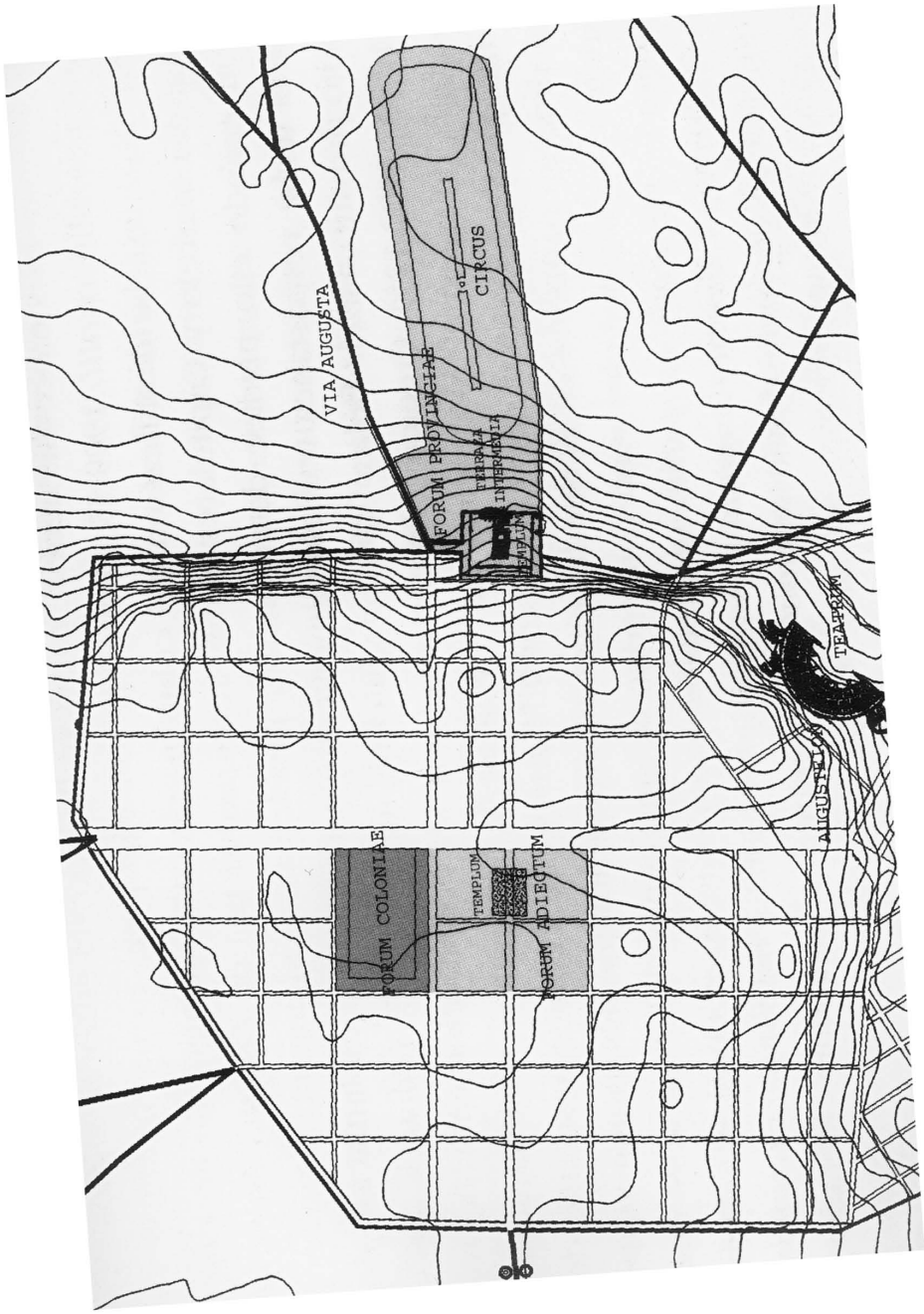
pp. 35–40 For a more detailed overview now X. Dupré i Raventós in Dupré i Raventós, *Tarragona* (2004) 55–72.

pp. 40–4, 52–9 On the provincial temple of Lusitania at Emerita see now Álvarez–Basarrate (2003) 297–9 (Pl. 189).

p. 42, n. 6 For the view that the altar of Providentia shown on coins of Emerita illustrates an existing altar at Emerita situated in the central zone of the city—probably in the *forum adiectum*, the site of an Augusteum—see Álvarez–Basarrate (2003) 299–301.



189. Schematic plan of provincial forum and colonial forum of Emerita.



190. Plan of supposed provincial centre of Baetica at Córdoba, linking temple in Calle Claudio Marcelo with nearby Orive circus.

pp. 42–3, 45, 63, 65 On the "Temple of Diana" see now the magisterial analysis of Álvarez–Basarrate (2003) 77–189, 283–90, 307–18. For the iconographic remains see further *o.c.* 193–280.

p. 43, n. 7 Álvarez–Basarrate (2003) 285, with nn. 19–21, report that the silver *anaglyphum* illustrating a hexastyle temple may originate from the east or Rome rather than from Emerita as previously believed.

p. 62 with n. 43 For the view that an Augusteum may have been situated at the centre back of the *forum adiectum*, its iconographic programme copied from that of the Forum Augustum at Rome, see Álvarez–Basarrate (2003) 318–321 with Vol. II, p. 117, Lám. 111 A-C (Pl. 189). The authors plan to treat the Augusteum in detail in a later work and for the moment are mainly concerned with the extent of the "marble forum" in the central zone of the city; cf. p. 321, fig. 68.

pp. 73–90 On the colonial forum, the *forum adiectum*, and the south forum of Corduba see Garriguet (2002) 109–29.

pp. 76–8 On the colonial cult of Corduba see Garriguet (2002) 127–9, 145–54, 178.

pp. 90–8 For the temple in Calle Claudio Marcelo see Garriguet (2000) 134–9, 167–71, 174, 177–8.

pp. 96–101; For arguments in favour of identifying the temple in Calle Claudio Marcelo, Córdoba, as the provincial temple, the nub of the provincial enclave of Baetica (Pl. 190), see now Murillo *et al.* (2003) 79–86, adopting the view of Garriguet (2002) 169–71, that the temple cannot be municipal; see further Jiménez (2003) 286–7[2].

The following considerations seem at present to count against this view:

(i) Attention was earlier drawn to the orientation of the circus in relation to the temple and its plaza. It was nevertheless pointed out that this peculiarity might have been imposed by the lie of the land (Vol. III, 3, 96), a consideration that has now been convincingly

[2] I am greatly indebted to J.L. Jiménez Salvador for forwarding copies of Murillo *et al.* (2003) and Jiménez (2003).

developed by Garriguet (2002) 169–70, whose detailed discussion demonstrates that a circus in this region will necessarily have pointed in the direction in which it was constructed. Even so, this analysis in no way confirms that the Orive circus formed a unified whole with the temple and plaza in the same way, say, as at the Tarraco enclave. In particular there seems to be no trace as yet of a wall enclosing the three elements of the supposed unitary complex—temple, plaza and circus—though, contrary to Panzram's argument (2002) 159–60, 221, 315, the existence of an intermediate plaza between temple and circus now looks to be confirmed archaeologically: Murillo *et al.* (2003) 80, n. 38, cf. 68 ff.

(ii) Provincial centres, when not located on an interior plaza as at Emerita, are usually found tucked into the back of the city, so to speak. In this instance the putative site is located at a main entrance to the colony of Corduba partly breaching the city walls, an arrangement for which there is no parallel elsewhere in the Latin west (Vol. III, 3, 201–3).

(iii) The origin of the temple, the beginning of its construction, is now firmly dated to the reign of Claudius, which means that its "constitution", which determined the affiliation of the building, must have taken place earlier. Despite the arguments of the authors, nothing goes to show that a provincial cult already existed in the Julio-Claudian era. Garriguet's novel idea (*o.c.* 166, cf. Murillo *et al.*, *o.c.* 84, n. 47) that the province of Baetica joined in building at Corduba a colossal temple—undoubtedly to Divus Augustus as its date requires and in line with Tacitus' comment on the outcome of the embassy of the Spaniards to Rome in A.D.15—can draw on no comparative evidence in support at any centre in the western empire (above, p. 215). The original idea of Marquez (Garriguet, *o.c.* 120 with refs.) that the temple was built with local, colonial funds looks by far the likelier hypothesis. Nor, contrary to the inference of Murillo *et al.* (*o.c.* 84), does the fact that an embassy was sent from Baetica to Rome in A.D. 25 necessarily imply the existence of a provincial council. Communal actions by provinces or cities are well in evidence earlier without any implication of the involvement of a provincial *concilium* (Vol. III, 1, 46–7, 112). In short there is nothing to justify the idea of a "provincial" cult "ambiguo y en estado embrionario" (Garriguet, *o.c.* 167) that existed before what has usually been taken to be the Vespasianic foundation of the provincial cult of Baetica. If an earlier cult existed, it will have been modified and regulated under Vespasian,

not founded. As matters presently stand, there is no evidence to confirm the existence of a provincial cult of Baetica in the Julio-Claudian period. For rejection of the arguments of P. Le Roux in this regard see Vol. III, 1, 111–12 *et passim*; *contra* Garriguet, *ibid.*

(iv) All that is clear of imperial cult at Corduba in the pre-Flavian period is that an enormous temple, which replicated the temple of Mars Ultor at Rome, stood on the *forum adiectum* of the city and that an Augusteum of some form, conceivably associated with the colonial cult, stood on the central forum at the intersection of Calles Cruz Conde and Gongóra, perhaps also a similar shrine on the southern forum in the zone of Calles Jesús y María and Ángel de Saavedra. These structures and the expense they involved along with other contemporary projects (Murillo *et al.*, *o.c.* 84, n. 47) provide perfectly adequate reasons why construction of a municipal temple should have been delayed until the Claudian period. That this is the temple in Calle Claudio Marcelo, which so strongly resembles the municipal Maison Carée at Nîmes, has already been argued (Vol. III, 3, 96–8). It might be added that, apart from the provincial temple of Lusitania, which follows the regional fashion of a tetrastyle temple typical of south and south-east Spain (Vol. III, 3, 41–2), other provincial temples in the western empire are octostyle rather than hexastyle as in the case of the Claudio Marcelo temple; six columns evoke rather a municipal temple (Vol. III, 1, 48–50).

(v) On the view of Murillo *et al.*, *o.c.* 84–5, the plaza before the latter temple will have accommodated statues of provincial priests in the earliest phase of the provincial cult. Lack of supporting evidence is explained by the circumstance that the same statues with their bases were later simply re-used. This is pure hypothesis that in no way excludes the equally hypothetical proposition that these early re-used statues stood on the south plaza of the city, on what has until recently at least been called the "provincial forum". What is certain is that, once datable evidence comes firmly into focus, these statues appear first on the south plaza, later also on the central, colonial plaza. Why, then, do they not appear on the plaza before the temple in Calle Claudio Marcelo, if this was in fact the provincial "representation" plaza? Equally, the circus that supposedly formed part of a unified complex with the adjoining temple was clearly supplanted—so presumably no longer used—by a new circus on the far side of the city from about the last quarter of the second century. It follows from these two circumstances that, if there originally existed a provincial

enclave comprising the temple in Calle Claudio Marcelo, an intermediate plaza, and the adjoining circus in the district of Orive, this was abandoned well before the onset of the third century: so rightly Murillo *et al.*, *o.c.* 85; Jimenez (2003) 287. Yet nowhere else in the western empire do we know of any provincial enclave that was at any stage vacated in favour of an alternative site.

(vi) Comparative issues aside, it is surely unlikely that after a century of more of use the province would have abandoned an enclave set aside for its own particular use in favour of utilizing the civic forums of the colony while retaining the temple in Calle Claudio Marcelo as the provincial temple. Eqully, why abandon a circus within the supposed provincial sanctuary and use a circus on the far west side of the city for provincial rites and games? All things considered, it seems far easier to believe that the supposed provincial enclave at the entrance to the city of Corduba was neither a unified complex nor provincial.

These considerations appear at present to tell strongly, if not yet decisively, against what looks to have become the *communis opinio*, namely that the provincial centre of Baetica was located at the entrance to the city of Corduba. It remains for future archaeological discoveries to confirm or discredit the foregoing defence of the opposing view.

pp. 101–3 On the theatre of Corduba with its *sacellum* see Garriguet (2003) 132–4, noting that the diameter of the building, modelled on the Theatre of Marcellus at Rome, is now known to have been 124m.

p. 103 On the circus at Orive and the Palace of Cercadillo (the so-called Palatium Maximiani) see Garriguet (2003) 139–43, 167–70, 174, 178.

pp. 248–50, 364–5 Gradel (2002) 240–50, gives an extensive commentary on the language and content of the inscription recording rites performed at the altar of the Numen Augustum at Forum Clodii. As for what was actually worshipped, he argues that victims could not have been sacrificed to the Numen Augustum since *numen* is neuter: it could not therefore receive any animal victim, the gender of which had by Roman sacral law to fit the gender of the deity receiving the sacrifice. As *numen* is not equivalent to *genius* in this context and as the statues mentioned in the inscription clearly represented Augustus and Tiberius, the victims on the birthdays of Augustus and Tiberius must have been

sacrificed to Augustus and Tiberius themselves. Given that a Numen could not be paid cult, Gradel concludes that worship of the living emperor's divinity was synonymous with worshipping him directly as a god: *numen* cult was simply a linguistic synonym for direct cult.[3] In effect, then, the term Numen Augustum at Forum Clodii denotes the living emperor: first Augustus, then Tiberius.

All this is impossible to swallow. In the first place the term used at Narbo for the animal victim at the altar of the Numen Augusti is as elsewhere, *hostia*, which would seem to bypass Gradel's difficulties over gender. Secondly, at Narbo supplications of incense and wine were certainly to be offered to the emperor's *numen*: *ad supplicandum numini eius thus et vinum* (*CIL* 12, 4333 = *ILS* 112, lines 18-19). This surely demonstrates beyond further discussion that the Numen Augusti could receive offerings of incense and wine, presumably also of the *hostiae* which are mentioned in the inscription without explicit mention of the recipient.[4] It further follows from the Narbo text that *numen* is a property of the emperor (*numini eius*), not the emperor himself, so a divinized abstraction to be treated in the same way as a traditional god, though immanent in the emperor rather than having a separate or concomitant existence (Vol. II, 1, 385). The point is made even clearer by a contemporary record at Lepcis Magna, which Gradel cites in a footnote (without the text) but excludes from further discussion:[5] *Numini imp(eratoris) Caesaris Divi f(ili) Aug(usti) pont(ificis) m*[*ax(imi) imp(eratoris) XX co(n)s(ulis) XII*]*I tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) XXXIIII calchidicum* (sic) *et porticus et* | *porta et via ab XVviris sac(rorum)* | [… ca. 7 … *dedica*]*ta est* (*IRT* 324a). What this text confirms is that *numen* was a quality, attribute or property of the living human emperor (Vol. II, 1, 386–7); cf. *Numen Caesaris Aug(usti) p(atris) p(atriae)*: *ILS* 112, lateral face. Augustus possessed *numen* but never achieved the status of being a *numen*. As noted on past occasions, this distinction may well have been lost on many in the empire who made a dedication to the *numen Augusti* / *numen Augustorum* / *numina Augustorum*, but, fine as it was, it is there. Gradel rightly sees no essential difference between Numen Augustum at Forum Clodii and Numen Augusti at Narbo[6]—though he elsewhere makes a clear distinction in meaning

[3] Gradel, *o.c.* 245 with n. 28, citing the view earlier stated by Toutain (1907) 53.

[4] For the point that the Numen Augusti can also be the recipient of prayers at Narbo, where it is expected to be *volens* and *propitium* see Vol. II, 1, 385.

[5] Gradel, *o.c.* 239 with n. 12, stating that Augustan dedications to the imperial *numen* are of little value in illuminating the supposed altar in Rome or the character of *numen*.

[6] For an interesting sidelight on the discussion see now G. Alföldy's interpretation,

between the adjectival and genitive forms (above, p. 230–1); the variation is in all probability to be ascribed to uncertainty on the proper terminology, just as under Tiberius *dupondii* of Tarraco refer to Divus Augustus as *deus* (above, p. 230). But the main point at issue is that both forms refer to the immanent divine property of the emperor, not to the emperor himself. Nowhere in the empire does there exist a cult

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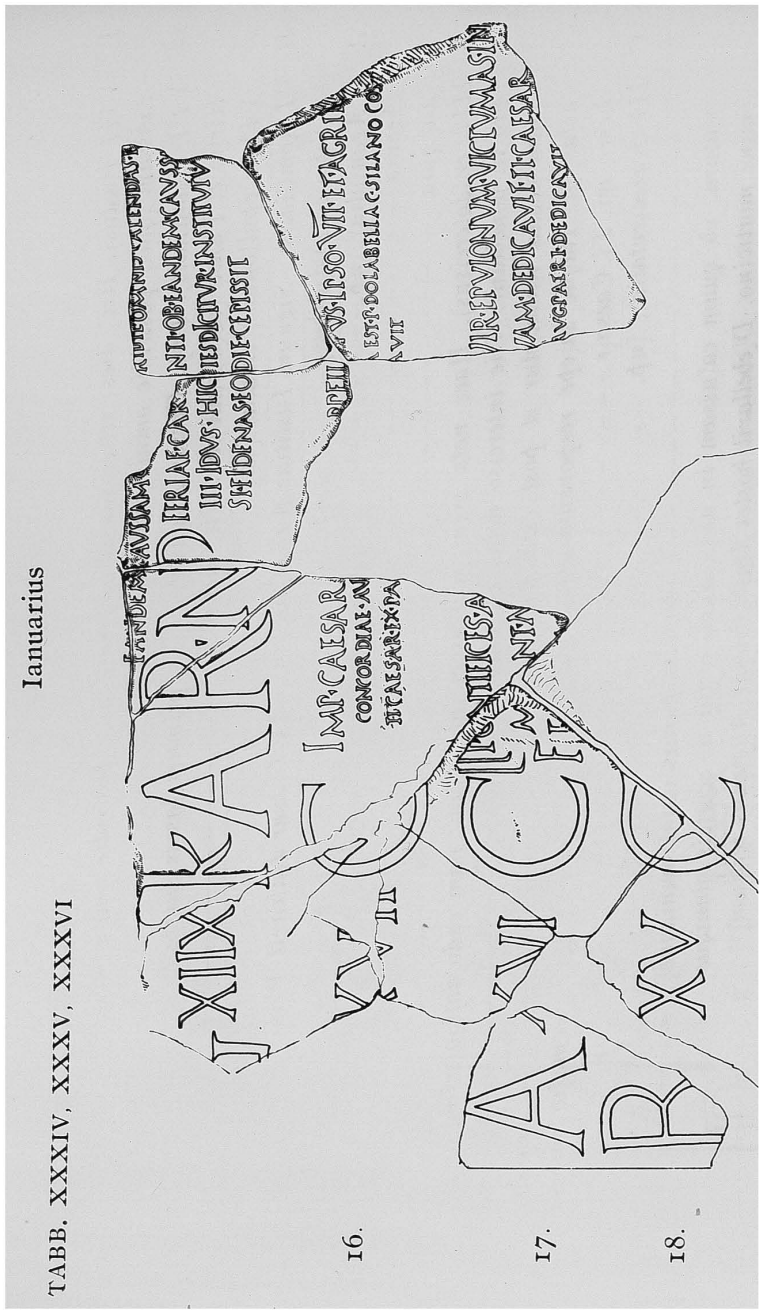
Medinaceli (2002) 98–102, of the Flavian inscriptions on the Roman arch of Medinaceli (Soria, Hispania citerior). I am indebted to the author for kindly forwarding a copy of his monograph. The north face reads: *Numini Augusto sacru*[*m*]; the south face, originally inscribed *Numini Imp(eratoris) Domitiani Aug(usti) Ger(manici)*, was modified in A.D. 98 to read *Numini Imp(eratoris) Traiani Aug(usti) Germanici*. Alfoldy analyses the text in the context of similar inscriptions on Roman arches across the Empire and notes that the votive dedication on the north side brings the Medinaceli monument into line with a whole series of arches dedicated to divinities. Among the more familiar of these he draws attention, *o.c.* 99, to the arch at Mustis. This was shown by Fishwick, Emperor or God (1991), to be a dedication to a divinity rather than an emperor, as held by Beschaouch, *Mustitana* (1968) 74–6, no. 14 (= *AE*, 1968, 609), though firm identification of the deity in question was hardly possible. Alföldy now suggests the god may have been Ianus Pater, a statue of whom figured on the arch. Whatever the facts in that regard, Alföldy argues in light of general practice that the invocation *Numini Augusto sacrum* at Medinaceli refers not to the personal *numen* of the reigning emperor but to the supernatural *numen* of emperors in general. That is, the Numen Augustum is here conceived as an independant abstraction that existed apart from the *numen* which was an attribute of individual monarchs living or dead.

Given the use of *sacrum* and the practice of dedicating arches to divinities, Alföldy's interpretation looks persuasive. But just as the epigraphical formula on the north face is itself unique, so this concept of the Numen Augustum is surely a local theological innovation peculiar to Medinaceli and its arch. At the African centre of Vaga, for instance, an arch erected in A.D. 209 records that the colony *arcum fecit et numini Aug. eorum dicavit*: Fishwick, *Numen* (1992) 92–3, no. 7 (*CIL* 8, 14395), which as Alföldy notes can only be completed … *numini Aug(usto) eorum* … . Yet the fact that instances of the imperial *numen* in Africa are always made personal to an emperor or emperors by use of the genitive form suggests that the Vaga text should be taken as a case of confused grammar rather than of creative theology as at Medinaceli. Whoever was responsible for drafting, spacing out, or engraving the text simply did not realize that the normal form *numini Aug(ustorum)* is precluded by the following *eorum*. Similarly at Forum Clodii the date of A.D. 18 looks too early for one to suppose that that the notion of the Numen Augustum as an independent entity distinct from the personal *numen* of the emperor had already come into existence. Despite the text at Medinaceli, it still seems easier to take Numen Augustum as a local variant on Numen Augusti at a time when standard terminology had yet to take hold. Alföldy correctly observes, *o.c.* 101, that if the reference is to Augustus himself, as must surely be the case some four years after his death, he ought technically to be called Divus Augustus as in the *s.c. de Cn. Pisone patre*. But the latter is dated two years later (A.D. 20) and refers to a decision of the senate taken in Rome and it by no means follows that the use of *divus* would already be in common use, still less obligatory, at Forum Clodii two years or so earlier. We have noted above how Augustus is addressed as *deus* on coins of Tarraco at roughly the same time.



191. *Fasti Praenestini*, 16th–18th January.

of Augustus Numen. Nowhere in the west at least is Augustus addressed as *numen* or *deus*. Dedications to the imperial *numen*, which occur widely across the western Roman empire, are dedications not to the emperor as *numen*, as Gradel would have it, but to the *numen* of the emperor(s).[7] If already in his lifetime the emperor was worshipped openly as a divinity at Forum Clodii or Narbo, why bother to deify him?

As for the origin of the cult of the *numen*, this has usually centred on the entry for 17th January in the Fast Praenestini (Pl. 191), apparently recording the dedication of the altar of the Numen Augusti *ca.* A.D. 6. Gradel, *o.c.* 236–8, argues on palaeographical grounds that what has usually been taken as an *n*, the first letter of *n*[*umini* …, looks more like an *m*, conceivably the first letter of *M*[*arti*… .[8] Examination through a magnifying glass confirms that Gradel is right in arguing that in the Fasti Praenestini the first stroke of the letter *n* is usually upright rather than sloping, but palaeographic usage seems in general insufficiently consistent to permit any firm conclusion. For example, the first stroke of the *m* in *caussam* (line 14 *et passim*) is straight upright, so one could equally argue the possibility of an *m* even if the initial letter of what has been taken to be the *n* of *n*[*umini* was upright rather than slanting. Conversely the first stroke of the *n* in *institutu*[*s* (line 15) looks slightly concave, beginning below the top of the sloping cross stroke; cf. the *n* of *agonia* (line 9) or the *n* of *signum* (line 8). And why could not the slope of the initial stroke of what has been hitherto taken as an *n*, the first letter of *numini*, be explained as a more florid version of the initial letter of a key word of the text; cf. the *n* of *nefas* (line 10), the *c* of *corona* (line 13), or the *v* of *vitiosus* (line 14)? In any event this whole discusion is based on Degrassi's drawing, which, good as it is, necessitates the caution appropriate to a facsimile rather than a photograph. It follows that far from laying the ghost of the *n*[*umini* read by Mommsen and accepted Degrassi, who had direct access to the original, Gradel succeeds at most in re-emphasizing the uncertainty that has always surrounded this

[7] The impossibility of Gradel's view is brought out by the occasional association of a single *numen* with multiple *Augusti*. There is no way that *numini Augustorum* (cf. *CIL* 8, 958, for example) can record a dedication to the emperor as *numen*: plural *Augusti* cannot be a singular *numen* (= *deus*). What the formula plainly attests is that the property of divinity is attributed collectively to plural *Augusti*, rather than distributively as on the commoner *numinibus Augustorum*. Similarly a single *numen* is attributed to plural gods as early as Cicero: Fishwick, *Numen* (1992) 90, n. 41 with refs.

[8] Gradel, *o.c.* 238, n. 11, implausibly suggesting a dedication to *Mars Augustus pater*. Degrassi himself (*ibid.*) also thought the beginning of an *m* possible but opted for Mommsen's *n*[*umini*.

particular reading. Whether microscopic examination of the original stone would advance the argument can hardly be said.

If the Fasti Praenestini do not after all attest the dedication of the altar of the Numen Augusti *ca.* A.D. 6, then some other origin, as yet unknown, must be supposed. Gradel himself argues that this protoype altar of the imperial *numen* was not a monument at Rome, whence the cult spread to the provinces, but rather the altar at Narbo, from which the idea travelled to Forum Clodii. The view is consistent with the doctrine, traceable to F. Millar's controversial notion of a passive emperor, that most innovations in the Roman empire had their origin "bottom up", yet is plainly ruled out by the epigraphical evidence at Lepcis Magna (*IRT* 324a). This is a dedication to, not the record of a cult of the imperial *numen*, but it certainly shows that the notion of the imperial *numen* as a quality of the living human emperor was familiar in North Africa between 1st July, A.D. 11 and 30th June, A.D. 12, the date of the text pinpointed by the 34th *tribunicia potestas* of Augustus. The Narbo text, in reality an Antonine copy, records that the altar of the Numen Augusti was dedicated in A.D. 12/13 in accord with the vow made to the Numen Augusti by the *plebs Narbonensium* on 22nd September, A.D. 11. Whether the vow made at Narbo might antedate the inscription at Lepcis Magna is therefore uncertain; the decision to inscribe the latter must in any case have been made earlier than the time the text was engraved, which in turn implies that the concept of *numen* was known earlier at Lepcis Magna.[9] Which of the two traces of the imperial *numen* reflect an earlier acquaintance with the term is consequently impossible to tell, but what is certain is that the notion of the Numen Augusti cannot have travelled from Narbo to Lepcis Magna. On any analysis a Narbonese inspiration of the trace at Lepcis Magna is out of the question.

As for the cult at Forum Clodii, Gradel notes that Q. Cascellius Labeo may well have originated from Narbonensis, conceivably from

[9] See also an altar from the theatre at Tarraco, apparently dated to the Augustan epoch, reading *Numini August.* (*RIT* 48; Vol. I, 1, 174, n. 22; Vol. II, 1, Pl. LXXIV a–c). Syme (1939) 473 with n. 5, states that altars at Tarraco (Quintilian 6, 3, 77) and Narbo (*ILS* 112) were dedicated to the cult of the Numen of Augustus. But the passage in Quintilian makes no mention of the imperial Numen and rather implies direct offerings to the emperor, which would in that case have been offered at the municipal altar in the lower, colonial forum (Vol. I, 1, 171–9). The only altar linked with the cult of the Numen August(i) at Tarraco in the small relic from the theatre (above), of which Syme makes no mention.

Narbo itself, and infers that he was consequently responsible for transmitting the cult of the Numen from Narbonensis to Italy. According to the inscription, the expenses of the associated banquet were to be underwritten in perpetuity by Cascellius. "This Labeo was not a simple local character; his epitaph is known from Rome, and informs us that he had been chief engineer (*praefectus fabrum*) in the army. Cascellius was not from Rome, however. As indicated by his tribe-name as a Roman citizen (Voltinia), likewise known from his epitaph, he probably came from Gallia Narbonensis, and the name Cascellius is otherwise known only from this area, two of the other four inscriptions recording it coming from Narbo itself. Cascellius Labeo was clearly a wealthy and prestigious knight; he had a connection with Forum Clodii—perhaps he owned property in the area—and it was probably on his suggestion, as well as with his money, that the town councillors of Forum Clodii established their altar. If so, Narbo was indeed the prototype".[10]

This argument moves from one dubious hypothesis to another. A preliminary minor point is the claim that he had served as chief engineer in the army, a point in which Gradel follows S. Demougin.[11] As no further office in his supposed military career is recorded on his epitaph at Rome (*CIL* 8, 3510), his appointment as *praefectus fabrum* may well be a decorative title that gave entry to the equestrian order on conferment by the emperor or the governor of a province.[12] In Lugdunensis, for example, the title appears to have been given to one provincial priest from Mediolanum for services rendered to the province while serving as high priest of the federal cult at the Confluence, notably construction of the first amphitheatre (*ILA, Santons* 7; Vol. III, 1, 92–3), whereas in the case of another priest the post is followed by that of *tribunus militum cohortis* [*I Belg*?]*arum* (*ILA, Santons* 18). At all events the title *praefectus fabrum* need not imply actual military service—public activity as Demougin puts it.[13]

More important is the fact that Cascellius was enrolled in the *tribus Voltinia*. Following Demougin again,[14] Gradel suggests that he probably originated from Gallia Narbonensis—a patently hazardous infer-

[10] Gradel (2002) 249–50.
[11] Demougin (1992) 623–4.
[12] Dobson (1966) 67; Demougin (1988) 682–4.
[13] *Ead.* (1992) *loc. cit.*
[14] *Ead.*, *ibid.*

ence. The Voltinia, one of the oldest rustic tribes near Rome,[15] occurs in Regio IV (Aufidena, Bovianum vetus, Bovianum undecimanorum, Fagifulae, Saepinum, Terventum) and Regio VII (Lucus Feroniae) of Italy, as well as in Gallia Narbonensis, where it appears with certainty at some fifteen places, all Latin communities rather than colonies.[16] In addition the tribe is attested at sundry places elsewhere, when it was presumably attributed *viritim*; for example, Philippi (*CIL* 3, 649), Mediolanum (*ILA, Santons* 18, cf. 7). At all events it is clear that the birth place of Cascellius can hardly be assigned with assurance to Gallia Narbonensis. He could just as well have originated in Italy, not far from Rome, where his epitaph occurs.

Gradell's case would be stronger if the name Cascellius was linked to Narbonese Gaul, a claim that Gradel does in fact make with particular reference to two traces from Narbo itself (above). Here again Gradel follows Demougin, who cites examples of the name at Sexantia (*CIL* 12, 4194), Alba Helvorum (*CIL* 12, 2689), Nemausus (*CIL* 12, 3210), and Narbo (*CIL* 12, 4334 add., 4626 add.).[17] The difficulty here is that Narbo itself was enrolled in the *tribus Papiria*, whereas Q. Cascellius Labeo, we have seen, was inscribed in the tribe Voltinia. It is consequently impossible that Cascellius had originated from Narbo before supposedly migrating to Forum Clodii. One might conjecture that he had come from elsewhere in Narbonensis before moving to Narbo but that would be to pile one unsubstantiated hypothesis on another. Gradel's principal error, however—one in which he was certainly not misled by Demougin—is to claim that the name Cascellius is otherwise known only from the area of Narbonensis (above). If the author had consulted *ThLL Onomastikon* 2, 224–5, s.v. Cascellius, he would have discovered that Cascellius is the name of a Roman *gens*, and widely attested in Italy and elsewhere by both the literary and the epigraphic sources. A glance at *PIR*, for example, shows the name occurring under C457 and C458 as well as at Caunus in Caria (*SEG* 14, 647). The most famous bearer of the name was the distinguished Roman lawyer of the Augustan period, A. Cascellius, whose decisions gave rise to the expression *Cascellianum iudicium*.[18]

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[15] Taylor (1961) 44–5, 276; Alföldi (1965) 309, 317.

[16] Kubitschek (1889) [1972] 48–59, 79–92, 203–5, 272; *RE* Suppl. 10 (1965) 1113–1126 s.v. Voltinia (Habicht).

[17] *Ead. o.c., ibid.*

[18] For references see *RE* 3, 2 (1899) 1634–7; *KP* (1979) 1065; *Der Neue Pauly* 2 (1997) 1001.

Quite clearly, then, neither the tribe Voltinia nor the name Cascellius warrant the inference that Q. Cascellius Labeo could have brought the idea of a cult of the Numen from Narbo to Forum Clodii, especially when the only similarity between the two cults is that both centred on the imperial Numen, variantly termed Numen Augustum at Forum Clodii and Numen Augusti at Narbo. When these considerations are viewed in the context of other early records, particularly the dedication at Lepcis Magna (above, p. 238), it seems clear that the traces of the cult at Narbo and Forum Clodii are entirely independent of each other and that along with the Lepcis Magna dedication all three must have taken their inspiration from some central state monument at Rome. Whether this was the altar possibly attested in the defective Fasti Praenestini or some other prototype that has left no trace is impossible to confirm.

p. 251, cf. Vol. I, 88, n. 37 Gradel (2002) 115, states that, in making part of his house on the Palatine public property, Augustus set up there a shrine to Vesta, apparently a replica of Vesta's old sanctuary on the forum (which, confusingly, continued to exist). This statement is contrary to fact despite Gradel's assertion that up to this point there can be little general disagreement. The notion of an *aedicula* in Augustus' house goes back to Mommsen's version of the entry in the Fasti Praenestini for 28 April: … *quod eo di*[*e aedicul*]*a et* […] *Vestae* | *in domu Imp. Caesaris Augu*[*sti* …, a restoration patently too long and now excluded by Degrassi's demonstration that the final letter of the lacuna is *m* not *a*, thus making [… *signu*]*m* obligatory; cf. Fasti Caeretani for 28 April. Guarducci (1971) 98, restored [*aedis*] before *Vestae*—a reading shortened by Scott (1982) 458–9 with n. 107, to [*aed.*] as better fitting the space—and proposed a "tempietto" built in the (impossibly short?) time of three to six weeks at the *domus* of Augustus, taking the term *domus* to include the surrounding grounds. For the point that the cult centre which Augustus set up in his own house must have focussed on a statue together with (in all probability) an altar—to be restored in Fasti Praenestini: … [… *signu*]*m et* [*ara*] *Vestae*—see Fishwick, Vesta (1993), noting that the edifice shown on coins and bas-reliefs must be the old round temple of Vesta in the forum. Gradel refers, *ibid.*, n. 15, to Fishwick, Prudentius (1990) 478, n. 22, as though this agrees with the view of Wissowa, Taylor *et al.* that, in making part of his house public, Augustus also turned his household cult, the worship of his Lares and Genius, into a public cult, a development linked with the worship of the Genius Augusti in the city districts. More careful reading would

have shown Gradel that the note focusses on Vesta and the Penates and has no bearing whatsoever on the household Lares and Genius of Augustus, neither of which are mentioned in this connection.

pp. 229–33 On calendars see now Scheid (1999) 390–3, concluding in favour of municipal control over the local list of festivals (cf. 229, n. 4) except for observances honouring the imperial house.

pp. 324–6, cf. 308–9, 314 For an insightful analysis of the gladiatorial law see now Carter (2003), arguing that it was not the cost of hiring gladiators that threatened the fortunes of provincial priests but their death or serious injury since in that event priests would be expected to pay the gladiators' full purchase price. Hence the attempt of the decree of A.D. 177 to lower their value. The author notes that combats to the death were so rare by the mid-third century that such spectacles required imperial *indulgentia*. This distinction brings into still sharper focus the sensationally expensive *spectacula* put on at Lugdunum *ca.* A.D. 220 by T. Sennius Sollemnis (of whom the discussion makes no mention).

p. 355, n. 42 For arguments in support of Friesen see recently Harland (2003) 98.

pp. 362–5 Gradel (2002) 77–84, 91–7, 99–103, 128, 130, 139, 196–7, 209, develops a detailed justification of the familiar view that cult in Italy particularly was offered directly to the emperor, not to his *genius*, as originally argued by L.R. Taylor, followed by most later scholars. This is by far the most usable part of the author's thesis for present purposes, and is notable for the interesting point that to pay cult to the emperor's *genius* would have placed the worshipper in a servile position: hence the preference of local authorities for direct worship of the emperor on a par with the gods of Rome.

p. 362, n. 59 Gradel, *o.c.* 236, states that, while arguing for the separate nature of *numen* from *genius*, I still accept that the word was in some instances synonymous with *genius*. "This view has effectively muddled up the picture and outline of the concept. Fishwick may of course be right that the question is as complex as he presents it, but his immense amount of detail and references, very useful, but not always of central relevance to the discussion, may indeed lead one to suspect the forest

to have been lost in the trees in his version". This judgement is totally unacceptable, a travesty of the facts; Gradel himself is lost in the woods. What I point out, after clearly distinguishing between *genius* and *numen*, is that the ancient authors occasionally refer to the *genius* as *numen* in the developed sense of the word it had acquired by metonymy: that is, they call the *genius* a god (*numen*); cf. Gradel, *o.c.* 235 with n. 5 *et passim.* In the same way one finds *numen* in simple apposition to the name of a god (*Iuppiter numen*) or the god's name can be used adjectivally with *numen* (*numen Idaeum, numen Herculaneum*). In other cases it can be used absolutely in the sense of god or deity (= *deus / dea*). Thus Tacitus calls the eagles *propria legionum numina* (*Ann.* 2, 17, 2) and, most appropriately for present purposes, Ovid refers to the Lares Augusti at the crossroads—that is, the Lares Compitales with the Genius Augusti—as *numina trina*:

> *Mille Lares Geniumque ducis qui tradidit illos,*
> *urbs habet et vici numina trina colunt* (*Fasti* 5, 145–6; cf. Vol. II, 1, 384)

In that sense and in that sense only can the *genius*, like Jupiter or any other god, be called *numen* (= *deus*); only in that sense can *genius* and *numen* be used synonymously.[19] But no example of this usage has any bearing on the Numen Augusti or on the distinction between this concept and the Genius Augusti, a differentiation which I consistently maintain in discussion after discussion, notably in connection with the Forum Clodii inscription, as Gradel himself notes (*o.c.* 244, n. 27).[20]

This is an elementary mistake on Gradel's part, symptomatic of his continual misreading or misunderstanding of mine and others' views.[21] For example, he states "The *Genius* of the *paterfamilias* was usually worshipped with incense and wine in the household cult, and the identity

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[19] Fishwick, Numen (1992) 84–5.

[20] Gradel states (*ibid.*) that the ritual at Forum Clodii has been claimed to prove both that *numen* and *genius* are identical and that they were not identical and embarks on an involved discussion to show that the ceremonies recorded there cannot be used in support of either of these opposite views. All I have claimed is that, if the *genii* of Tiberus and Augustus have to be invited to the altar of the Numen Augustum, then clearly *genius* and *numen* are distinct concepts. This would appear in a different light, of course, if the Numen Augustum is first Augustus himself, later Tiberius, as Gradel would have it. For rejection of this view see above, pp. 239–41 with n. 7.

[21] The fact that this and other errors have been allowed to stand in what is purportedly one of the better Oxford theses points to slack supervision compounded by lack of familiarity with the field on the part of all concerned with a wildly speculative, carelessly researched thesis; cf. Vol. III, 1, 229–38.

The *hauteur* of the author's tone is best ignored.

of *numen* and *Genius* has been claimed on this basis" (*o.c.* 239 *ad* Vol. II, 1, 379). This allusion is entirely wrong. My argument makes no reference whatsoever to the *genius* of the *paterfamilias* and, though I agree that there are parallels between the rites in the cult of the Numen Augusti at Narbo and the rites appropriate to the *genius*, I conclude that the cult at Narbo is unconnected with the general cult of the *genius* and that the Genius Augusti cannot be identical with the Numen Augusti; this is shown in particular by the cult at the altar of the Numen Augustum at Forum Clodii (Vol. II, 1, 380). More importantly, Gradel transfers his misunderstanding of my point re the developed sense of *numen* to the much discussed passage of Horace, *Odes* 4, 5, 31–6 (Vol. II, 1, 375). Horace's reference here to *tuum numen* has usually been taken to refer to the emperor's *genius*, to which the countryman on returning home pours a libation: that is, *tuum numen* is synonymous with *genius* in the sense that the *genius* is called a deity (*numen*). But Gradel states that the passage has been taken by myself to show that *numen* = *genius* "thereby making the whole argument neatly circular" (*o.c.* 209 with n. 26). This is arrant nonsense. To repeat, I nowhere state that *numen* is the same concept as *genius*, only that the *genius* is sometimes called *numen* in its developed sense of *deus*—which is surely simple enough.

As for the interpretation of the Horace passage, Gradel takes the libation to be made to the emperor himself, not to his *genius* (*o.c.* 247, cf. 207–9). For the view that the ceremony Horace describes is that decreed by the Senate to be performed at banquets and that the libation was poured to the emperor's *genius* not to the *princeps* himself, as Dio states (51, 19, 7), see below, p. 249. For the accompanying toast or acclamation the clearest evidence is presented by Petronius, *Cena Trimalchionis* 60, 7. Here the libation and the accompanying form of words (cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 2, 637–8) addressed to the emperor as *pater patriae*—certainly not to the emperor as a god, therefore—come before the desert as also does the veneration of the Lares. In Horace in contrast everything takes place at the second course (*alteris mensis*), the more normal sequence as Servius confirms *ad Aen.* 1, 730. The ritual at table described by Horace emerges clearly enough, then. Along with offerings of food to the Lares, figures of which were set upon the table usually at the second course, one now poured a libation to the emperor's *genius* with an accompanying expression of good will for his welfare, a formula akin to a toast. The fact that the poet calls Augustus *deus*, portrays him as the object of prayer and libations of pure wine, associates his *numen* (used for *genius*) with the household gods, and draws

a comparison with the deification of Castor and Hercules in Greece, is all ascribable to unrestrained charismatic imagery. Far from evidence for direct cult of the emperor this is a procedure well within the bounds of Republican practice.

p. 363 Gradel notes (*o.c.* 207–9) that after the conquest of Egypt the Senate decided among other honours that a libation should be poured to Octavian at all banquets public and private (CD 51, 19, 7). This libation, he stresses, was to the emperor himself (*o.c.* 247).[22] That such a measure would haven been introduced in 30 B.C. as a clear reflection of *Staatsdenken* (see above, p. 211) is surely implausible. In that case the Senate will have decided to pay honours to Octavian that Democharés, for one, puts in the same category as altars and statues (*apud Athen.* 6, 252 f-253a). Octavian himself would surely have objected at this stage of his career. At the very least such an honour would be inconsistent with other measures that on Dio's report the Senate passed at the same time: prayers *for* the emperor to be included in the prayers of priests and priestesses in their prayers on behalf of the people and Senate, tribunician power for life for Octavian, the right to judge appealed sentences with a tie-breaking vote. All these are very human privileges, even further removed from supposed divine honours than the *sacra verba* accompanying the libation—formulae that turn out on closer examination to be in the nature of acclamations (above, p. 248). Comparison with the Hellenistic practice of pouring a libation to the ruler's *daimon* at meal times rather suggests an offering to his *genius* as plainly reflected in the rites Horace describes *ca.* 14/13 B.C. (*ibid.*).

But, if that is the case, how has Dio come to make the mistake of reporting this offering to the *genius* as a libation to Octavian himself? For a possible solution one may turn to an iconographical development. The Genius Augusti was represented as essentially a statue of the emperor *capite velato* and equipped with *patera* and *cornucopia*; see Price (1984) Pl. 1b, facing p. 198, where the figure of the *genius* is wrongly identified by the author as a representation of the emperor as priest. In time, however, this representation was simplified by omitting the attributes of the *genius* to the point where it became simply a statue of the emperor, a development reflected in the existence of *cultores Larum et imaginum Augusti* and the like.[23] In other words the Genius Augusti which

[22] Fishwick, Mamia (1995) 21–4.
[23] Fishwick, Mamia (1995) 21, n. 21; Turcan (1998) 202–3.

stood in domestic *lararia* came to be simply a statue of the emperor—essentially the same figue but without the cowl, *patera* and *cornucopia*. The fine distinction between the emperor and his *genius* would thus in practice have been obliterated by the time the Dio was writing and it may very well have seemed to the historian that the libation was poured directly to the emperor. Hence his misinformation.

p. 363 with n. 64 and refs. Gradel, *o.c.* 162 ff., 187 ff., argues convincingly that the *genius* of Augustus was never a state god but would date the entry of such a cult of the living emperor under Claudius rather than Nero, when it is first attested in the *AFA*.

pp. 363–4 Gradel agrees with the Augustan dating of the temple on the forum of Pompeii (*o.c.* 91, n. 44), also that the rite shown on its complementary altar represents sacrifice not to the emperor's *genius* but more likely to the emperor himself. The scene on the altar he takes to represent the dedication of the temple coinciding with some imperial anniversary—he suggests either 1 August, the anniversary of the conquest of Alexandria in 30 B.C., or the birthday of Augustus on 23rd September. That the presence of sunshades (*vela*) on the temple in the relief points to the earlier date is a dubious inference, to say the least. Whether it was normally hotter and sunnier in Rome on 1st August than on 23rd September is far from certain but, even if that was the case, it was certainly sunny enough in mid September to make *vela* a welcome accessory. Any argument based on the weather or the supposed temperature looks in any event highly speculative.

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6

CORRIGENDA

The following list of errata *omits harmless misprints.*

Vol. III, 1

75, n. 125	… see Vol. III, 3, 138–42 with n. 18
100–101	cf. Vol. III, 2, 183 … ἐκ …
112, n. 53	… temple of Mars Ultor at Rome …
116, n. 66	… P. Iulius Liberalis (*CIL* 8, 4252: patron at Verecunda);
150	… [*ex stipe*] | …; cf. 154
154	… inscription of Q. Adginnius Martinus …
167, n. 227	… For similar ritual at Corduba, Sarmizegetusa and Troesmis see Vol. III, 2, 222–3, 258–60, 286–8.
197	… combined living and dead *Augusti* …
199, n. 3	in Vol. III, 2, 60–8
201	… three Caesars—*Caesss*—… ; cf. 202
230	…exception at Arelate, …
250	Herz (1992), Herz P. … *et passim*
258	… "Goldene Lettern in Augst" …

Vol. III, 2

30, n. 5	… *praefectus operum publicorum*
31, n. 51	… = *ILS* 7010: *flaminica prima Aug(ustae)*
139	… Caetobriga respectively (below, p. 152)[3].
165	… is in any case superfluous …
198	… the dedication (*CIL* 8, 12039)—a less expensive …
218	… city of Corduba (nos. 7: equestrian, 19), and …
258, n.12	… (above, p. 199).
258, n. 13	… below, p. 267, n. 2.
269	… a dedication to I.O.M. Nundinarius …
273	… *RIU* 20; *RSS* 38 [p. 89] …
276	… originated from Aquincum (below, pp. 277, 280–1) …
277, n.7	… will have been a knight, but see below, p. 280 …

286	… *genius* of Italica *ob honorem IIvir(atus)* (above, pp. 238–9).
288	For similar ritual at Emerita, Corduba and Sarmizegetusa see Vol. III, 1, 166–7; above, pp. 222–3, 258–60.
305	… patron of Verecunda (*CIL* 8, 4252) …
306	… *iudex arcae ferrariarum* …
308	… held by T. Sennius Sollemnis (above, pp. 51–2).

Vol. III, 3

xxii	170. *RIT* 942 (Tarraco). Reproduced from *RIT* 2, Tafel CLXI 6.
29	… (below, pp. 31–2). … by A.D. 121–2 (above, p. 27) might …
35	… Temple of Pax at Rome (above, p. 22).
90	… provincial centre of Tarraco (above, p. 38).
118	…; coin of Volusian, A.D. 251–3.
119, n. 44	… at Byblos (above, n. 31, Pl. 115), … … Sagalassus (Volusian, A.D. 251–3) …
132, n. 12	… See further Vol. III, 2, 5.
151	… within which was found …
171	… P. Aelius Hadrianus
179	… at Tarraco, therefore (above, pp. 20, 34, 35).
207, n. 40	… provincial temple see above, p. 35, n. 106.
227	… in Mauretania Caesariensis. … … chosen Rubria Festa as provincial priestess, …
255	… victims to the Numen Augusti on 31st May.
278	… dedicated by the province of Lusitania (above, p. 275) …
287	… (*CIL* 11, 3303: above, p. 249).
311	… in *ILTG* 341 (above);
316	… *secutor* …
352	… But first, a word on …
310	… the official centre of …